



LONDON CHURCHES
BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

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PREFACE

CORRIGENDA

'Gentle Reader, I pray you, before you reade,
To correct these faults ensuing.'

GEORGE GASCOIGNE, *The Steele Glas*, 1576.

Page xiii, *for* Addenda 283 *read* Addenda 285.

„ 15, line 19, *for* Howell *read* Nowell.

„ 18, line 7, *after* in the centre, *add* but these were on the south side.

„ 82, line 29, *after* Katherine Cree *add* S. Dunstan, Stepney.

„ 92, footnote 1, *for* now *read* new.

„ 140, margin, *for* Marty *read* Martyr.

„ 144, line 17, *read* founded before 1291.

„ 172, line 8, *for* See Appendix *read* See Addenda, p. 289.

„ 173, line 9, *for* the marriage *read* the intention of marriage.

„ 175, line 23, *for* Cole Abbey *read* Cold Abbey.

„ 196, line 22, *for* Goldsmith's *read* Goldsmiths'.

„ 197, line 30, *instead of* corrupted into *read* or Querne, which was the old word for a corn-mill.

„ 198, line 29 *should read* S. Vedast and Armand and says.

„ 250, *add to* footnote 4, This church was burnt down in 1795 and rebuilt.

„ 265, line 1, *for* seventeenth *read* sixteenth.

„ 285, line 21, auxis *misprint for* puxis.

„ 287, line 11, *after* Scotland *add* 1641. *In* footnote 2, *omit* 1647.

„ 287, line 12, *for* Bishop of London *read* Lincoln.

„ 297, S. Mildred, Poultry, *add* p. 300 (note).

PREFACE

THE following pages are offered as a small contribution to the early history of the London churches. They are based for the most part on four articles which have appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review*, and are reproduced by the kind permission of the Editor. Considerable additions have, however, been made, and some few historical notes appended ; but in the main the original intention of treating the subject from the point of view of allusions in literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been preserved. The period chosen, mainly the years between the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Great Fire, covers what is generally considered the greatest era in English Literature, viz. the latter half of the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the whole of the reign of King James I, and no apology need be offered for presenting the reader, incidentally, with something, in a minor way, of an anthology rather than a treatise, in which the author—to borrow Montaigne's simile—provides only 'the thread that binds the garland.' He ventures to hope that the method pursued may have produced a readable book rather than a dictionary of the subject, and that at the least it may be found useful as a literary supplement to greater works by greater men.

Material is abundant, and obtainable by any seeker who is fairly lavish of his time—Chronicles, Annals, Memoirs, Journals, Diaries, Autobiographies, and Letters ; Essays, Epigrams, and Satires ; State Papers, City Records, and Church Registers ; Tracts and Broad-sides ; sometimes Sermons ; and not least, the whole range of Poetry, including the Drama, from Surrey to Dryden and Andrew Marvell : all these are available at the Public Libraries

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and National Collections. The quotations, which form a small part of a repertory of allusions in literature to London place-names, have been excerpted verbatim from first editions where possible, and in a few cases from original MSS. The text of the 1623 Folio has generally been used for Shakespeare, and the 1616 Folio for Ben Jonson, so far as it goes; and the quotations from Stow's 'Survey,' which are numerous, from Mr. Kingsford's reprint of the edition of 1603, the references being to the page numbers of the original. Many of the diaries, memoirs, and letters cited have been published for the first time by the Camden and other societies.

Information as to early rectors and vicars, and the income derived from their benefices, have been taken mostly from Newcourt's 'Repertorium.'¹ Richard Newcourt was one of the Procurators General of the Arches Court of Canterbury, and had the custody of the Records and Muniments of the Diocese of London from 1669 to 1696. His sources of information appeared to be the London Registers, which began in 1306, as well as registers kept by different bishops. The incomes of the parishes are given from a return made in 1636, the MS. of which, so Newcourt says, was in his time at Sion College. The amount of income appears small in many cases, but it must be remembered that a 'multiplier must be used to arrive at present-day value. These incomes were subject to deductions or burdens (*onera*), consisting of first-fruits (*primitiæ*) and tenths (*decimæ*), and some small fees to the bishop and archdeacon. The first-fruits were the first year's income of a benefice. This, with one-tenth of the income in future years was, before the Reformation, paid to the Pope. The payments were transferred to the Crown under Henry VIII,² and continued under Edward VI.³ The Act was

¹ *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 1708. The *Novum Repertorium*, by the Rev. George Hennessy, 1898, is an extension and revision of Newcourt's work and gives some earlier names.

² 26 Henry VIII, c. 3.

³ Confirmed 2 & 3 Edward VI, c. 20.

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repealed under Queen Mary, but the money was not paid to the Pope but used for various 'godly intents and purposes.' But Queen Elizabeth revived the Act of Edward VI, and these payments continued to be made to the Crown until the reign of Queen Anne, when the system known as Queen Anne's Bounty came, by the action of the Queen, into force, and the accumulated funds have continued to be used for church purposes.¹ It has not been thought necessary or of sufficient interest to print the outgoings as given by Newcourt, but those in respect of S. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe may be cited as a fair specimen. The income was £107, being—tithe, £80; glebe, £20; casualties (presumably marriage and burial fees and the like), £7. The burdens were first-fruits, £17, 10s. After the first year, tenths £1, 15s., and fees 9s. 4d.

In the reign of Edward I the Pope, Nicholas IV, made to the King a grant of the tenths for a term of six years as a contribution towards the expenses of a proposed expedition to the Holy Land, and in order that the fullest amount might be produced he directed a reassessment for the purposes of taxation. The Royal Precept was carried into effect between the years 1288 and 1291 (so far as the province of Canterbury was concerned), and the result shewing the taxation of every parish has been preserved, and was printed by Royal command in 1802 under the title of *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A.D. 1291*. This assessment remained in effect until the survey made in the 26th year of Henry VIII, and known as *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. Mention is made in the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas of over 120 churches, practically all of which will be found in the Index of Churches referred to in this book. Evidence is thus afforded that the

¹ For the statement in this section see *Visitation Articles*, vol. ii. p. 295. Edited by W. H. Frere (Alcuin Club). Also Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law*, 1873, II, viii. p. 1724.

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latter were founded not later than at the end of the thirteenth century. Many of them were founded a century or more earlier. A list of churches mentioned in the 'Taxatio' is printed on p. 299.

It may be thought that the knowledge of the date of the first rector or vicar would be some indication of the date of the first church ; but this is not so, as the names vicar and rector were not in very early use, nor their exact rank and official position in the Church clearly defined. The earliest use in English Literature of the word 'rector' given in the Oxford Dictionary is 1225. Any priest who served the Church was often called 'parson' (i.e. *Persona Ecclesiæ*), and the word, dignified by Chaucer's use,¹ has continued to this day, though the legal right to the title was more properly with the rector. The word is met with in the 'Articles of Clarendon, 1164': 'Archbishops and bishops and all the parsons of the kingdom who hold of the King *in capite*.'² But it is generally considered that very many of the London churches were originally built in the twelfth century, and some earlier in pre-Norman times. The majority of the Norman churches seem to have been rebuilt entirely or in part in the thirteenth century when Gothic art was first introduced, and in the fourteenth when it matured to full perfection. The great artists who planned and built these churches were not in sympathy with the massive and somewhat cumbrous form of the Norman column and arch, and very little Norman work would have been found in London at the present day even if the Great Fire had not taken place. The churches, frequently founded by some wealthy layman in his lifetime or by bequest, were generally placed under the control of the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's, or given to one of the

¹ In Prologue to *Canterbury Tales*.

² Cited by John Johnson, *Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church*, ii. 54. Mr. Johnson considered that the word 'parson' signified a clergyman of note or eminence.

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great priories or other religious houses (though not of necessity in London), which thus held the patronage and received the profits of the benefice, appointing a curate or priest in charge, or sometimes even a layman, who was responsible to provide a priest. The rectorial or great tithe was in later times in many cases impropriated, that is, alienated, from the use of the church : hence the anomaly of lay rectors. Still there were many of the clergy who enjoyed both the dignity of the title as well as the profits of the benefice. There were cases in which a rector might present a vicar as substitute (as the name implies), who presided over the church and parish as incumbent (to use a later word), receiving only a portion of the emolument. At the dissolution of the monasteries the patronage of the churches owned by them came into the hands of the King (Henry VIII), or by his gift into possession of laymen whom he desired to favour or reward. In many cases, however, the property was sold to laymen for actual cash, and the sums paid remain on record. To them devolved the right of presentation, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction being with the Bishop of London. There was an exception to this in the case of thirteen churches known as 'Peculiars,' of which S. Mary-le-Bow was the chief, they being under the Archbishop of Canterbury. The priories and other religious houses do not fall within the scope of this work, and are only lightly touched on, except so far as the churches appertaining to them are concerned. These, in many cases some of the finest in London, were frequently retained as parish churches.

The illustrations are, for the most part, from plates or drawings at the British Museum, made use of by permission of the authorities and carefully reproduced by Mr. Emery Walker. Drawings of the churches taken before the Great Fire are not numerous, but Hollar, who designed and engraved in the reigns of Charles I and II and who illustrated Dugdale's 'S. Paul's,'

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produced beautiful work, and his plates are still unsurpassed. There are also good examples by eighteenth-century artists and engravers who depicted some of the old churches which still remained in their day, and we may from them get some idea of a few of the churches of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though the numerous alterations and restorations—‘re-edifying’ was the word—were often out of keeping with the original style, more particularly when the *debased Perpendicular* of Tudor times came into vogue, and still later in the time of the Stuarts when the taste was for Classical revival, and we see new round-headed windows, Italian in detail, introduced into Gothic churches. The Church of S. Katherine Cree, newly built in the reign of Charles I and still standing, is an example of the introduction of Renaissance work. The old towers were often left when churches were rebuilt, and some towers of churches burnt in the Fire remain to this day. The church spires and towers were a conspicuous feature in a distant view of London, more especially in that obtainable from the south side of the Thames with the river as foreground. Visscher’s ‘Long View,’ taken in 1616, gives this in a striking manner, and shews many towers and spires not elsewhere depicted. Milton was impressed with this aspect when, in his younger days at Cambridge, describing the river, he called it ‘Royal towred Thame.’

If this book were Elizabethan in time as it is to some extent in matter, the reader would expect to find a preface in which a noble patron was adulated in terms of ostentatious humility—or perhaps he would receive, as was wont, advice. None is here offered, save in the words of a sixteenth-century preface—‘Beholde the Auctours simplicitie and prayse God Almyghtie.’

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POSTSCRIPT

THANKS are due to Campbell Dodgson, Esq., Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, for facilities given to select specimens from the various collections ; for his courtesy and attention, and for that of his assistants ; also to the Librarian at the Guildhall for permission to inspect and excerpt from many of the old Church Registers, Churchwardens' Account Books, and Vestry Minute Books now in his custody. Also to the Rev. Claude Jenkins, Librarian at Lambeth Palace, and to Dr. Craigie, joint-editor of the Oxford Dictionary, for appreciative interest in the book, and for many useful suggestions. Lastly, to the author's daughter-in-law, Mrs. Hilary Jenkinson, for kindly reading the proofs.

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The design on the cover of this book is reproduced from Norden's 'Speculum Britanniae,' 1593. It is traditionally supposed to represent the arms of Sebba, King of the East Saxons, who died c. 695 and was buried at S. Paul's (see p. 15). The so-called arms may be considered mythical, but are here given as an 'In Memoriam' of a name that should not be forgotten in Church History. Norden, in the frontispiece to his book, shews this cross with the five martlets quartered with the Royal Arms.

S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER I

OLD S. PAUL'S IN SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

‘OLD POWLES,’ as Londoners with affectionate though somewhat irreverent familiarity called the great Cathedral in the days of Elizabeth, was constantly in the mind and on the tongue of the citizens, and allusions to it are abundant and frequent in the literature of the Tudor and Stuart period. A selection of these is offered to the reader rather as supplemental to, than in competition with, any of the more elaborate works on the subject published from time to time.

(i)

I have thought fit in the first place to begin with the Church of St. Paul, as one of the most eminent structures of that kind in the Christian World.¹

So wrote Sir William Dugdale in the dedication of his work *S. Paul's* on the Cathedral published only eight years before its total destruction, while James Howell, in his *Londinopolis*, a work based mostly on Stow and his continuators, calls it, perhaps a little inaptly, ‘One of the most glorious piles of stones under Heaven,’ and he adds, with just a touch of humour, ‘Being also founded on Faith by having a large Church of that name truckling, as one may say, under the Chancel.’² Howell calls the Cathedral ‘A Dome of Devotion,’ a word apparently out of place applied to the old church, the dome, as the word is

¹ W. Dugdale, *St. Paul's Cathedral* (1658).

² S. Faith's-under-Paul's (alluded to later on). *Londinopolis* (1657), p. 399.

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now understood, except in Continental use, being the leading feature in Wren's building, the S. Paul's of our own time.

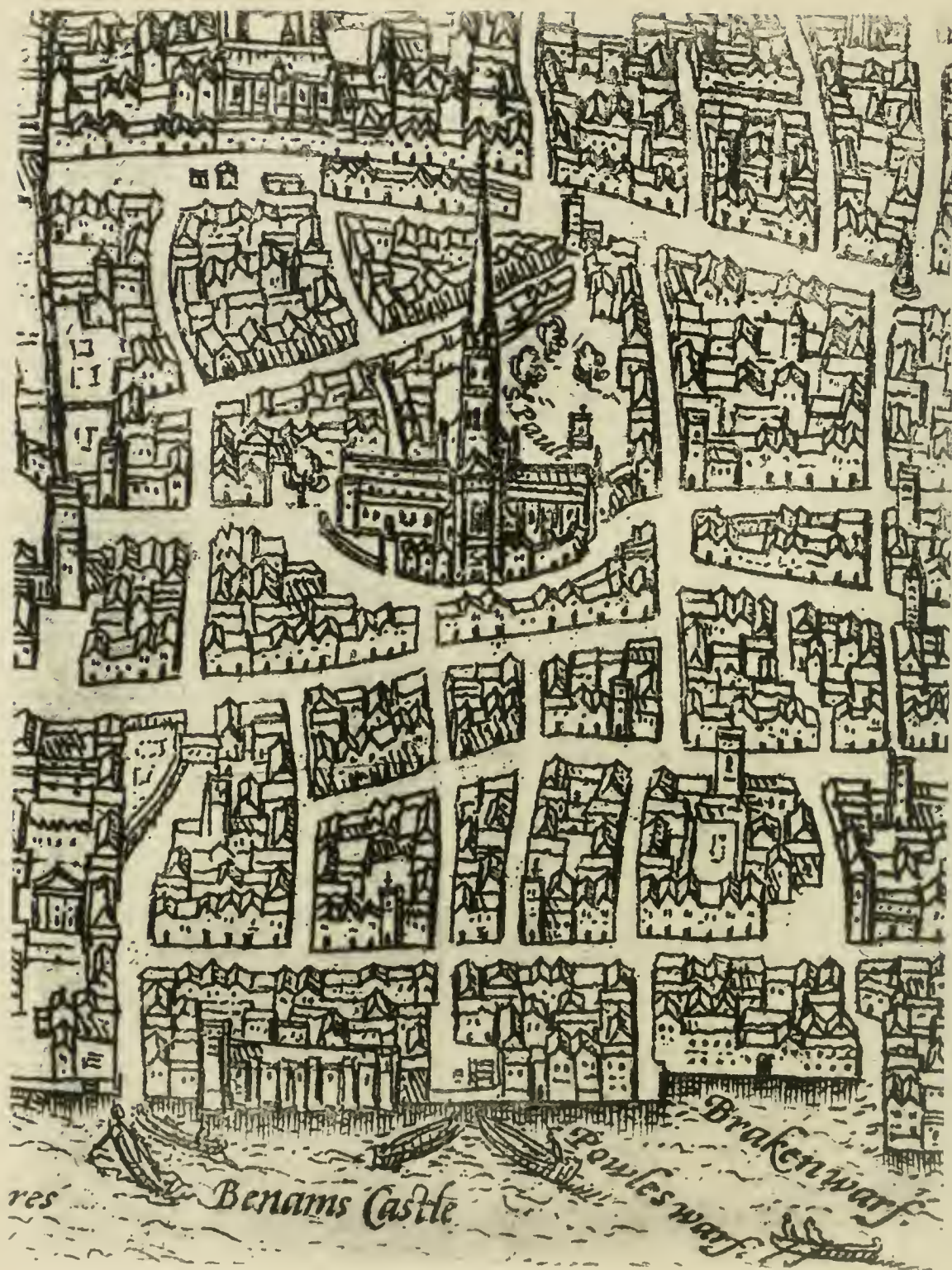
Since we are dealing with the Cathedral only as alluded to by writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we will pass over the earlier churches before the Conquest, and merely note that the first Norman church¹ was erected by William the Conqueror and was destroyed by fire in 1087, and that, according to Stow (*Survey*, 1603, p. 326) :

Mauricius, then Bishop, began the foundation of a new Church of Saint Paule . . . the same was builded in arches of stone for defence of fier. The stone was fetched from Cane in Normandy . . . the new worke of Powl's at the east end above the Quire was begun in the yeare 1251—the Cross Iles in 1256.

The church, as thus described, commenced in the eleventh century, and completed in the thirteenth, remained till the Great Fire of 1666. Hollar, who illustrated Dugdale, has a fine plate of the interior shewing a Norman nave up to the Triforium with early Gothic work in the Clerestory and eastward in the choir and Lady Chapel. His plates of the exterior shew both the north and south sides with the transepts, the tower (thirteenth century Gothic), and the east end with a fine rose window. The small Church of S. Gregory also appears, built against the Cathedral at the south-west end, its little tower only the height of the nave of the great building. Much of the detail of the exterior, especially the western portion, has a mean appearance in consequence of restoration not in keeping with the original work. The Classical porch, at the west front, designed by Inigo Jones, is alluded to by Evelyn with admiration, which is shared by other writers of the period who failed to see its incongruity.

The following quotation from the Harleian MSS. points to

¹ ' I will that this Church be in all things as free as I would my Soul to be in the Day of Judgement.' Charter of William I, tr.



OLD ST. PAUL'S, SHEWING SPIRE TO ITS FULL HEIGHT

Enlarged from Hoefnagel's View of London

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the fact that a feeling in favour of a Classical revival in architecture was growing in the seventeenth century.

Among the pieces of modern architecture I have never observed above two which were remarkable in this vast City: the portico of the Church of St. Paul, and the Banqueting-house at Whitehall.¹

Dugdale may be cited for the dimensions of the Cathedral:

There was an exact measure taken of this stately and magnificent Church. The length thereof was found to contain 690 feet; the breadth 130 feet, the space of ground in which it stands extending to 3 acres and a half. The height of the tower-steeple from the level ground 260 feet; the height of the spire of wood (covered with lead) 274 feet and yet the whole not exceeding 520 feet; the ball above the head of the spire being so large it would contain within it ten bushels of corn; the length of the cross above the said ball or pomel 15 feet, and the travers of the said cross 6 feet.²

Stow gives a greater length:

The length of the whole Church is 240 taylers yardes which make 720 foote.³

The steeple, at the lowest estimate nearly one hundred feet higher than anything now in England, was its crowning glory.⁴

built so hie

That the huge top-made steeple dares the skie.⁵

The panoramic view of London by Anthony Van der Wyngaerde, 1543, shews the spire before it was finally destroyed, as does also, on a smaller scale, the view by Hoefnagel. Later views shew the tower only. Dekker gives advice to those visitors who have a mind to climb to the

¹ 1659. A Character of England in a Letter to a Nobleman of France. *Harl. Miscell.* x. 191.

² Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*.

³ *Survey*, 1603, p. 329. Modern writers, however, give figures based on Wren's measurements which are less, viz. length, 580 feet; breadth, 104 feet; tower from ground, 285 feet; spire from ground, 489 feet.

⁴ Norden gives the height as 534 feet.

⁵ 1601. Rob. Chester, *Love's Martyr* ('New Shakespeare Society,' 1878), p. 77.

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summit, the charge for which, according to Peacham, was one penny.¹

When you are mounted there take heede how you looke downe into the yarde, for the rails are as rotten as your great-grandfather. . . . Before you come downe again, I would desire you to draw your knife and grave your name . . . in great characters upon the leades . . . and indeed the top of Powle's contains more names than Stowe's Chronicle.²

Edward Underhill in his Autobiography, 1553, writes :

Att the coronasyone off Kynge Edwarde I sawe Poles steple ly att ane anker, and now she wearithe toppe and toppe-gallantt. Surely the nexte wylbe shippwrake or it be longe.³

The destruction of the spire had been prophesied in the reign of Henry VII :

Troy novant's Triumphant spire
Shall be consumed with flames of Fire,

which really happened in 1561.⁴

At the time of Queen Mary's coronation procession we read :

A fellow who had made ii scaffoldes upon the tope of Polles steeple, the one upon the ball thereof and the other upon the tope thereof above that . . . and he himself standing upon the veary tope or backe of the weather cocke, dyd shake a lytel flag with his hande.⁵

Sometimes, we are told, the great height appeared to be a temptation to suicide :

From the toppe of the spire at Coronations or other solemne triumphes, some for vain glory used to throw themselves downe by a rope and so killed themselves vainly to please other mens eyes.⁶

The weathercock was often the subject of comment, and was sometimes used as a byword. In the play of 'Misogonus,'

¹ 1669. *Worth of a Penny*. ² 1609. Dekker, *The Gul's Horne-booke*, c. iiij.

³ Camden Society, p. 155.

⁴ Prophecy of Mother Shipton. See *Her Life and Death*, 1687, p. 32.

⁵ 1553. *Chron. of Queen Mary* (1850), p. 30.

⁶ 1563. *The burnynge of Paules Church*, G jv.

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although the scene is in Italy, someone ejaculates : ' That old lyzarde has no more wit than the wethercocke of poles.'¹ According to Camden, in the fifteenth century the eagle was the favoured bird. It was made of copper-gilt, and was the cause of a fatal accident : ' The Egill on Poulis stepell was take downe . . . but when hit shulde be set up agene, he that shulde set it up fell downe and was dede.'² At the end of Elizabeth's reign Thos. Deloney tells a story of a theft which occurred before his time. ' A great and mighty wether-cocke of cleane silver the which seemed as small as a sparrow to men's eyes . . . was afterwards stolen away by a cunning cripple who found means one night to climb up to the top of the steeple.'³

References to the various accidents to this wonderful steeple are very numerous. It was burnt down in the fire of 1087 already alluded to ; fired by lightning in 1444, and again in 1561 ; after which it was not rebuilt. Stow describes the accident of 1444 :

The steeple of Powles was fiered by lightening, in the midst of the shaft or spire, but by the labour of many well-disposed people the same to appearance quenched by vinegar. The Steeple was repaired in the yeare 1462 and the Weather-cocke agayne erected : Robert Godwin, winding it up, the rope brake and hee was destroyed on the Pinacles and the Cocke was sore bruised.⁴

Sir John Hayward, probably alluding to the same occasion, says that the steeple was fired by lightning in the reign of Henry VI, but, he adds, ' At that time it was quenched by the devise and diligence of a priest of St. Mary Bow in Cheape.'

The fire of 1561 was far more serious in its effects. Sir John Hayward says :

Upon the fourth of June (1561) in the afternoone, the steeple of Paules . . . was fired by lightening. The fire was seene to breake

¹ 1577. *Misogonus*, III, ii.

² Camden Soc., *Three Chronicles*, p. 75.

³ 1598. T. Deloney, *Thomas of Reading* (1912), p. 234.

⁴ Stow's *Survey*, 1603, p. 328.

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foorth about two or three yards beneath the foote of the Crosse, not much greater in appearance then the flame of a candle, from whence it burned downward and in short tyme imbraced the whole spire of the Steeple and all the roofes of the Church . . . sparkes and small coales were cast soe farre as the conduite in Fleete Streete.¹

A contemporary writer says :

Divers persones in tyme of the saide tempest being in the river of Thamys . . . affirmed that they saw a long and a spear-pointed flame of fier runne through the toppe of the Broache or Shaft of Paules steple . . . and some of the parish of Saint Martins . . . dyd feel a marvelous strong ayre or whorlewynd with a smel like brimstone cumming from Paules Church and withal heard the rushe of ye stones which fell frō their steple into the Church.²

The Bishop of Durham, in virtue of his office, took the opportunity to moralise and prophesy : 'Let this token of brinninge of Paules be an example and token of a greater plage to folow excepte ye amende.'³ A ballad of the time, moreover, gives a popular description and a warning :

For five long howers the fire did burn
The roof and timbers strong,
The bells fell downe, and we must mourne.
The wind it was so strong
It made the fier
To blaze the higher
And doe the Church still greater wrong
.
Lament I say
Both night and day,
Sith London's sins did cause the same.⁴

¹ 1638. *Annals of the first four years of Queen Elizabeth* (Camden Society, 1840), p. 87.

² *True Reports of the burninge of the Steple and Church of Paules*, 1561 (Camden Soc.).

³ 1563. J. Pilkington, *The burnynge of Paule's Church*, A. 6.

⁴ Ballad, 1561, *The burning of Paules* (Camden Soc., 1880).

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Lupton, a satirist and moraliser of a later day, writes :

The head of this church hath been twice troubled with a burning fever, and so the City to keep it from a third danger let it stand without a head ; then the world was all Church, and now the Church is all world.¹

There seemed neither the will nor the means to raise the large sum necessary for the re-erection of the spire, although there were evidently some who would have liked to see the work attempted, and in 1564 a ballad was published entitled 'The incorragin all kynde of men to the reedyfyinge and buildynge Poules steeple againe.' Sir Francis Bacon has an allusion to this in 1592. 'The gathering for Paul's steeple never grew to so great a sum as was sufficient to finish the work for which it was appointed.'²

(ij)

Besides the centre tower and spire, the Cathedral had two western towers. The south-western one was termed the Lollards Tower, presumably from the fact that Lollards had been there imprisoned. In Stow's time it was still used 'as the Bishoppes prison, for such as were detected for opinions in Religion contrary to the faith of the Church,'³ one of many evidences that there was no perfect religious toleration under Elizabeth, though the severity of the previous reign had ceased. The following excerpts from works written in the early years of Elizabeth's reign refer to events under the rule of Queen Mary :

The complaint of Raphe Allerton and others beinge prisoners in Lolers Tower, and writen with their bloude how god was their Comforte.⁴

¹ 1632. D. Lupton, *London and the Country carbonadoed*, p. 10.

² *Observations on a libel*.

³ *Survey*, 1603, p. 372.

⁴ Title of book registered at Stationers' Hall.

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Lollers towre where manye an innocent Soule hais bene by theyre crueltye tormented and murthered.¹

When Richard Smith in Lowlar's tower by sickness died
We wisht for our Elizabeth.²

In the sixth year of Henry VIII a certain Richard Hoone being 'apeched of heresy' was put in the Lollards Tower and by some mistake was hanged before being tried by the Spiritual Court. This breach of legal formality was, we are told, set right, and 'after he was hangyd he was iugyd an heretyck by the spūall lawe, and burnyd in Smytfeld.'³

There was another bell tower in S. Paul's Churchyard in connection with Jesus Chapel. Dugdale tells us :

Within this Clochier wer four very great Bells called Jesus Bells . . . as also on the top of the spire the image of St. Paul, all standing till Sir Miles Partridge, Knight Temp. Henry VIII having won them from the king at one cast of the dice pulled them down.⁴

Thomas Fuller tells this story, and adds in his characteristic way : ' Thus he brought the bells to ring in his pocket, but the ropes afterwards caught about his neck, and for some offence he was hanged in the days of King Edward the Sixth.'⁵

Stow gives the amount staked against the bells as £100. The date according to the Cotton MS. was 1544.⁶

Dugdale describes the great clock :

I now come to the Dial belonging to the clock in this Church concerning which there was care taken in 18 Edward III that it should be

¹ *The burnynge of Paules Church*, 1563, G. IV.

² 1559. Thos. Bryce, *The Register*. The whole ballad is a list of suffering under Queen Mary, and the wish for Elizabeth is the refrain to every verse.

³ Richard Arnold's *Customs of London*, p. xlix (1502).

⁴ 1658. *Hist. of St. Paul's*, i. 27.

⁵ 1642. T. Fuller, *The Profane State*, 1840, p. 335. Also in the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*.

⁶ Cotton MS., *London Churches. Henry VIII.*

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made with all splendour that might be ; which was accordingly performed, having an image of an angel pointing at the hour both of the day and night.

Dekker writes of it, and describes the figures that struck the bell with hammers at the quarter hours :

The great dial is your monument : there bestow some halfe of the three score minutes to observe the sawciness of the Jaikes that are above the man in the moon there.¹

Will Clarke was chief of the staff of bell-ringers in James I's time, and Dekker, writing of someone of whom he said : ' Powles may be proud,' added, ' Will Clarke shall ring for the encomiums in his honour.'²

(iij)

There are but few allusions in literature to the musical **The Music** services in the Cathedral. There was of course an organ, and mention of it is made in one of Rowland's satires in 1600 :

To sing like the great organ pipe in Paules ;³

and in 1598 Paul Hentzner on his travels noted : ' It has a very fine organ, which at evening prayer, accompanied by other instruments, is delightful.'⁴ John Redford, the famous organist and composer, is mentioned by Tusser in his biographical verses :

By friendship's lot to Paul's I got
With Redford there, the like no where
For cunning such and virtue much.
By whom some part of musick art
So did I gain.⁵

¹ 1609. Thos. Dekker, *The Gul's Horne-booke*.

² *Ibid.* c. iii.

³ 1600. S. Rowland's *The Letting of Humour's Blood*, E. 7.

⁴ *Travels*, tr. 1797, p. 11.

⁵ 1575. *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* (1812), p. 316.

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Possibly Dr. Donne had the Cathedral organ in mind when he wrote the Elegy on Lord Harrington :

Fair soul which . . .
. . . now dost bear
A part in God's great Organ, this whole Sphear.

Izaak Walton in his life of Donne gives the words of a hymn which he says was 'set to a solemn tune and often sung to the organ by the Choristers of St. Paul's Church in his own hearing.'

The services and ceremonial adopted by Archbishop Laud did not seem to be in accord with popular feeling. An Englishman, after many years' absence in the West Indies, writes :

When in Paul's Church I heard the Organs and the Musick and the Prayers and Collects and saw the Ceremonies at the Altar, I remembered Rome again and perceived the little difference between the two Churches.¹

The famous organ of Father Smith was not built till many years later and was in the new Cathedral. Fabyan, in his Chronicle, has a reference to the choir in Queen Mary's reign :

This yere, on S. Katharine's daye after even-song, began the quere of Paules to goe about the steple singing with lights, after the olde custome.²

The Children of Paul's, as the choir boys were called, were better known as actors on the stage in the earlier days, and 'Acted by the Children of St. Paul's' was a familiar phrase on the title-page of the quartos. In the anonymous play of 'Jack Drum's Entertainment' (1601) there occurs the passage :

I saw the children of Powles last night
And troth they pleas'd me pretty, pretty well.
The apes in time will doe it handsomely.

.

¹ 1648. Thos. Gage, *Survey of the West Indies* (1655), p. 205.

² 1559. Fabyan's *Chronicle*.

CHORI ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS S. PAULI PROSPECTVS INTERIOR.



CHOIR OF OLD ST. PAUL'S. CHOIR AND NAVE LOOKING WEST

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I hope the boies
Will come one day into the Court of requests
I, and they had good Plaies. But they produce
Such mustie fopperies of antiquitie
And do not sute the humorous ages backe,
With clothes in fashion.¹

The author of this comedy evidently did not favour a heavy tragedy like 'Tamburlaine' or 'The Jew of Malta.' It is curious to note that the very boys spoken of in the play as the apes were actually the actors as mentioned in the title of the first edition. However, some twenty-five years later, Puritan influence was in the ascendant, and we note that the patent granted to the Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal contained a proviso that :

None of the said Choristers or Children of the Chappell . . . shal be used or imployed as Comedians or Stage Players or to exercise or acte any Stage plaies, Interludes, Comedies or Tragedies ; for it is not fit or desent that such as should sing the praises of God Almighty should be trained or imployed in such lascivious and prophane exercises.²

A scarce little tract called 'St. Paul's Potion,' published in 1641, shews that by that time all sorts of church music and church ornaments had become an offence to a large section of the people.

Doctors' Commons holds a dialogue with S. Paul's Choir, who was 'very sicke of a dangerous fulnesse.'

Why look ye so wan ? You are troubled with a disease called Plenitude. Your face and your eyes be ruddy ; that is to say your Pictures, Altars, Copes, Candles, etc., look not like the eyes or face of a Protestant Church. . . . Your veynes, your organ pipes are swolne, the smallest veine whereof doth not become a Protestant Church but rather the Jews Synagogue.

¹ *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, Act V.

² Patent granted to Dr. Giles, 1626. (Camden Soc., 1872.)

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The potion was administered that the patient's system might be purged from such things as 'Copes and linen surplices, musitians and organe pipes,' all of which were fostered by the much-hated Archbishop Laud.

The Lady Chapel

The Lady Chapel ought not to be passed without some notice. It is mentioned in Samuel Daniel's History in connection with a rather interesting incident. It would seem that in the reign of Edward III (1377) John Wycliffe, who had been deprived of his benefice at Oxford by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was cited to appear before the Archbishop and the Bishop of London in S. Paul's :

Entring into Paules the preasse was so great as hardly any passage could be made . . . when they were come to our Ladies Chappell . . . John Wycliffe . . . was (by the Lord Marshall) willed to sit downe in regard he said the man had much to answeare and needed a convenient seat.¹

That a man 'cited before his Ordinary' should sit, was, so the Bishop said, 'against all law and reason.' The incident resulted in a riot of the citizens, which extended beyond the precincts of the Cathedral.

The Collegiate Chapel of 'Corpus Christi' is alluded to in Starkey's Letters,² and by John Taylor the Water Poet in his 'Pastorall' (1630) :

Sir John Pulteney the fourth time Lord Maior built a Chappell in Pauls where he lyes buried.³

The Cathedral always was, and still is, considered the most appropriate place for a Royal visit of Thanksgiving. We give the following from a contemporary ballad relating to the recovery

¹ 1615. Daniel's *Hist. of England* (1650, p. 258).

² *Early English Text Society*, p. lxiiij.

³ *Works*, p. 55. See Church of S. Laurence, Poulteney.

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of the throne by Edward IV after the battle of Barnet (1471). (Queen Elizabeth's notable visit will be alluded to later on) :

Throw the cite to Poulus thai did ride :
He was resayvid with prolessioun solemly
His brether and his lordis knelynge hym beside,
Thayre offeryng they made devoutly.

(iv)

Stow enumerates some of the monuments in the old church, **Monuments** which he says were 'translated' into the new. Amongst others 'Seba, king of the East Saxons, and Ethelred, king of the West Saxons,' etc.¹ Of the first of these Michael Drayton writes: 'Who fitter for a Shrine then for a Scepter was.'² Indeed, he is traditionally reported to have resigned his Crown and taken monastic orders c. 695. He was buried at the entrance of the north side of the quire in a coffin of grey marble, with the inscription: *Hic jacet Sebba Rex orientalium Saxonum qui conversus fuit ad fidem per Erkenwaldum Londinens. Epis. Anno Christi 677.*³

Dugdale mentions the tombs of John of Gaunt,⁴ Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir Christopher Hatton; three famous deans, Donne, Colet, and Howell. Dr. Donne's monument consisted of a shrouded effigy of the deceased apparently emerging from an urn at his feet. We are told that this was designed by his directions during his lifetime, and that he posed for the part in his own study. This monument was the only one preserved

¹ *Survey*, 1603, p. 335. The Arms of Seba (or Sebba) as given in Norden's *Speculum* are reproduced on the cover of this book.

² *Polyolbion*.

³ *Monumenta Sepulchraria*. H. Holland, 1614.

⁴ As to John of Gaunt the comment of Sir John Hayward is memorable: 'In the two and twenty yeare of the raigne of King Richard (II.), John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster died and was buried on the north side of the high alter of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule . . . he was a man aduised and warie in his passage of life, liking better safe courses with reason then happy by chaunce.' 1599. *Life of Henry IV*, Part I, p. 52.

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in perfect condition, and is in the present cathedral. Of Dr. Donne Walton says, 'An unknown friend writ this epitaph with a coal on the wall over his grave':

Reader, I am to let thee know
Donne's body only lies below;
For, could the grave his soul comprise,
Earth would be richer than the skies.

Also, among many others of note, Bishop Henry King, William, Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Philip Sidney. One honoured name should not be omitted—that of Thomas Linacre, the celebrated physician, of whom Weever said: 'This old Physitian and young Priest.' The monument to Sir Christopher Hatton was conspicuous, 'higher than the Altar,' Stow says, and—to quote Camden—'A magnificent monument becoming the dignity and high character of so great a person.' Sir John Davies, in one of his epigrams, has:

Three years together in this towne hath beene
Yet my Lord Chancellors tombe he hath not seene.

The size gave rise to a little pleasantry. It would seem that Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Francis Walsingham had no monuments. Stow says, 'A merry Poet wrote':

Philip and Francis they have no tomb
For great Christopher takes all the room;

but Henry Holland thinks the rhymer was 'the merry old man Stow himself.' Of Dean Colet he says:

Here lieth entombed with his lively Picture and an artificiall Askeliton,
John Colet . . . the only founder of Paules Schoole.

William Lilly, the first Master, wrote his Epitaph.

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In the same book we find noted that John of Gaunt's was 'a most stately monument, artificially raised, of white free-stone.' Allusion is also made to the monument of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, and his two wives.

Dugdale, writing just before the Restoration, and alluding to the misplaced zeal of some of the early Reformers, has :

In the time of King Edward the VIth and beginning of Queen Elizabeth, such pretenders were some to zeal for a thorough Reformation in Religion, that under colour of pulling down those images here which had been superstitiously worshipt by the people . . . the beautiful and costly portraitures of brass, fixed in several marbles . . . escaping not their sacrilegious hands, were torn away and for a small matter sold to copper-smiths and tinkers.¹

Needless to say that in Dugdale's own time the statue of King Charles was removed. His biographer, R. Royston, writes : 'They pulled down his statue which was placed at the west end of St. Paul's Church, and that other in the old Exchange, and leaving the arch void, they writ : "*Exit Tyrannus, Regum ultimus.*"'²

(v)

The cloisters on the north side of the Cathedral were described by Dugdale : The
Cloisters

Pardon Church Haugh was heretofore a place of great note ; for in it antiently stood a Chappell founded by Gilbert Becket . . . which Chappell was environed with a large and goodly Cloyster . . . over the East quadrant . . . was a fair Library built at the cost of Walter Shiryngton, but in the year 1549 both Chappell, Cloyster and monuments . . . were pulled down to the ground by the appointment of Edward, D. of Somerset, then Lord Protector to K. Edward VI., and the materials

¹ Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, 1658, p. 45.

² 1662. Royston's *Life of Charles I*, p. 93.

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carried into the Strand towards the building of that stately fabrick called Somerset House.¹

The Dance of Death was painted on the north cloister. The artist, so Stow writes, was 'John Carpenter, Towne Clarke in the raigne of Henrye the fift.'² Hollar's plate shews cloisters of decorated Gothic with the Chapter House, octagonal in shape, in the centre.

The
Shrouds

The Shrouds of Paul's was part of the crypt. The word, also spelt 'croudes,' has the latter meaning. We read in the Calendar of State Papers, Edward VI, an extract from a lease:

A certain Vault under the Cathedral of S. Paul's called the Crowdes or Jesus Chapel.³

Jesus Chapel was contiguous to, if not a part of, S. Faith's.

A title-page of one of Latimer's sermons reads: 'A notable Sermon of ye reverende father Maister Hugh Latimer which he preached in ye Shrouds at Paules Church 1558.'

In 1550 Leaver preached in the same place 'a fruitfull sermon.' Strype says: 'In foul and rainy weather these solemn Sermons were preached in a Place called the Shrowds—by the side of the Cathedral Church where was covering and shelter.'⁴

The following from Wriothesley's Chronicle marks a change. It was the first month of Queen Mary's reign.

Thursday the 24 August (1553) and Saint Bartholomew's daye, the old service in the Latten tongue with the Masse was begun and sunge in Powles in the Shrowdes, now S. Faithes parish.

If we go back to the reign of Edward VI we shall find the

¹ Dugdale, *op. cit.* pp. 131-2.

² Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 110.

³ Mar. 1, 1552.

⁴ 'A place called the "Crowds."' 1631. J. Weever, *Anc. Funerall Monuments*.

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Choir actually shut up. It was in 1551, the year that Edward forbade his sister Mary to attend Mass :

In ye begynnynge of ye moneth of Aprille ye yron gates of ye quere of S. Paules were mured upp wt bryke bycause many people cam thither dayly and worshipec ye Sacrement.¹

The rood and images of Saints had already been destroyed.

At nyght was pullyd downe the Rode in Powlles . . . with all the images in the Church and too of the men that labored at yt was slayne.²

Lastly, here is a record of a service of a very different character after the lapse of a century. It was in the last year of the Interregnum that Lord Chancellor Hyde wrote to Sir H. Bennett :

I told you in my last of my Lord Mayor's keeping his fast in St. Paul's, and that it was very punctually observed throughout the City where many of the Preachers spake home and honestly.³

(vj)

But by far the larger number of references to S. Paul's Secular
use by writers of the day are to its secular use, or rather abuse, amounting to desecration, more especially of the nave, which acquired the name of ' Paul's Walk,' and was the common resort of business men or idlers, the impecunious and profligate of both sexes. It is, to quote John Earle's ' Microcosmography,'⁴ ' The Lands Epitome, or you may call it the lesser Ile of Great Brittain. It is the whole world's map. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no business whatsoever but is here stirring and afoot. . . . It is the general mint of all famous lies.'

¹ *A London Chronicle*, Camd. Miscell. xii, 22. We do not take this to mean that the quire remained perpetually in disuse.

² *Monumenta Franciscana*, Rolls Edit., p. 215.

³ *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 636.

⁴ 1628. Earle's *Microcosmography*, No. 52.

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It would appear that the very pillars were posted with bills. 'Every paper-clothed post in Poules' may be found in an epigram of 1598.¹ Servants put up bills to advertise themselves :

These bills portend, I thinke,
That some good fellowes do for service seeke.²

And in 'Every Man Out of His Humour' Shift says, 'I have set up my bills without discovery,' *i.e.* in Paul's.³ In 'Henry V' Falstaff, alluding to Bardolph, says, 'I bought him in Paul's,' and in Shirley's 'Witty Fair One' someone says :

Bid my tutor come down to me ; the wit that I took up in Paul's in a tiffany cloak without a hatband ; now I have put him into a doublet of satin.⁴

In the fifteenth century it would appear that a country vicar looking for an assistant curate might obtain what he wanted in Paul's Walk, for we read in the 'Paston Letters' that a Parson being wanted at Oxnead, Wm. Paston writes to his servant Richard Lee in London :

if ze knew any yong preste in London that setteth billis upon Powlys dorr per aventure would be glad to have it.⁵

Pickpockets, according to Dekker, had a good time :

Some have their precinet lying in the walkes of Poules, their hours of meeting being between 10 and 11, ye strokes they strike being sometimes in the middle Ile if it be in terme time when ye walkes are full, but most commonly at the doores . . . which they will choake and strive for passage, whilst another does the feate.⁶

In fact, to quote a satire of 1605 :

It is agreed upon what day soever S. Paul's Church hath not, in the middle ile of it, either a broker, masterless man, or a penniless Companion,

¹ T. Deloney, *Skialetheia*, Epig. 8.

³ Ben Jonson, 1616. III, i.

⁵ 1479. *Paston Letters*, No. 828.

² Greenc, *James IV*, I, ii. 1598.

⁴ 1628. II, i.

⁶ *Bel-man of London*, 1608.

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the usurers of London shall be sworn by oath to bestow a new steeple upon it.¹

Common decency was neglected.

I have beene taking an ounce of tabacco hard by here with a gentleman and I am come to spit private in Paules,²

says one of Ben Jonson's characters. After dining at the ordinary or tavern, Paul's Walk was the usual promenade, and those whose pockets were empty and who had gone dinnerless came thither and made pretence, being said to dine with Duke Humphrey.

I, hearing of this colde comfort, tooke my leave of him very faintly, and, like a carelesse malcontent that knewe not which way to turn, retyred me to Paules, to seeke my dinner with Duke Humphrey.³

Twelve of the clock . . . the Exchange broke up . . . and Duke Humphrey's servants make their walk in Paul's.⁴

He walketh dinnerless in Paules

As if he prayed for departed soules.⁵

Apparently these dinnerless strollers made their rendezvous at the supposed tomb of the Good Duke Humphrey, and Dekker implies this when he says, 'Your Powles walk is your only refuge, the Duke's tomb is a sanctuary.'⁶ But Fuller, in his 'Worthies of England,' points out the mistake of supposing that the tomb of the 'Good Duke' was here, whereas he was buried at S. Albans.

The proverb pointed to the well-known hospitality of the Duke, who 'was so hospital' (*sic*) 'that every man of fashion, otherwise unprovided, was welcome to dine with him.'

¹ *Pennylesse Parliament of Threadbare Poets*.

² *Everyman Out*, III, i. Cf. Geo. Herbert in *Jacula Prudentum*: 'Some make a conscience of spitting in the Church, yet rob the Altar.'

³ 1592. Nash, *Pierce Pennilesse*.

⁴ 1626. Nich. Breton, *Fantasticks*.

⁵ Early Seventeenth-century *Wits' A.B.C.*, Epigram 2.

⁶ *Gul's Horne-Booke*.

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We gather from Harrison that the Cathedral was also used by the needy sort of lawyer in search of clients.

The time hath been that our lawyers did sit in Paul's upon stools against the pillars and walls to get clients, but now some of them will not come from their chambers to the Guildhall under ten pounds or twenty nobles at the least.¹

In 'Arden of Feversham' we read a letter from a swain in London to his lass in the country :

This is to certify that as the turtle true when she hath lost her mate, sitteth alone, so I, mourning for your absence, do walk up and down Paules till one day I fell asleepe and lost my maisters Pantophelles.²

If we are to believe Stephen Gosson, a comedy was actually played in the Cathedral entitled 'Cupid and Psyche,' but no play of this title is registered among the early plays.³

In the early part of Queen Mary's reign there was an attempt made to stop the secularisation of the Cathedral, and an Act of Common Council reads :

Forasmuch as the Materiall Temples of God were first ordained for the lawfull and devout assembly of people there to lift up their hearts and to laud and praise Almighty God . . . and not to be used as markets or other prophane places, etc.

The Act provides for a fine of 3s. 4d. on any person who shall carry 'thorow the said Cathedral any manner of great vessel or basket with bread, ale, beer, fish, flesh, etc., or for leading of horses, mules or other beasts through the same.'⁴ We may gather, however, that things remained much the same during Queen Elizabeth's reign and that of her successor. A report made in 1631 states that :

Where uppon Sundayes and all festivall dayes the boyes and maydes and children . . . presently after dinner come into the Church, there

¹ 'Description of Britaine' in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, iii. c. 3.

² 1592. II, ii.

³ S. Gosson, *Playes Confuted*, c. 1580, D. 4.

⁴ 1633. Munday's continuation of Stow, p. 937.

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they play in such manner as children use to doe till darke night, and hence cometh principally that inordinate noyse which many tymes suffereth not the preacher to be heard in the Quayre.¹

In the next year by command of Charles I a notice was posted up forbidding such abuse for the future ; there was an Order in Council ' That no man of what quality soever shall presume to walk in the Iles of the Quire, or in the body or Iles of the Church during the time of Divine Service.' No mention is made of Church officials to keep order. But in Alleyn's Diary, 1618, we read : ' Given the vergers of Powles 6*d*.'

We read in Howe's ' Chronicle ' : ' There is likewise built a new Exchange within the great Pillers at the West-end of the Church.'

In 1592 Bacon wrote :

It happened that upon some bloodshed in the Church of Paul's, according to the Canon Law yet with us in force, the said Church was interdicted and so the gates shut up for some few days ; wherewith they published that,—because the same Church is a place where people use to meet to walk and confer,—the Queen's Majesty, after the manner of the ancient tyrants had forbidden all assemblies and meetings of people together, and for that reason upon extreme jealousy did cause Paul's gates to be shut up.²

James I in 1612 promoted a lottery ' to be drawne in a new-built house at the West-end of Paul's.' There was contained five thousand pounds in prizes, ' and the profit was for the good of the English Colonies in Virginia.'³

What the Chronicler calls ' a new Exchange ' was possibly the large porch erected from the designs of Inigo Jones (already mentioned) which was intended as a place of public resort to

¹ *Report of Attorney-General Noy and Dr. Rives, as to the Profanation of St. Paul's Cathedral*, Public Record Office (Camden Soc., 1880), p. 131.

² Fr. Bacon, *Observations on a Libel*. Works, 1862, viii. 207.

³ 1614. E. Howe's continuation of Stow's *Annales*, p. 913.

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be used rather than the nave. The poor were not altogether forgotten. According to Dugdale, the Poor Box had this inscription :

All those that shall enter within the Church dore with burthens or baskets must give to the Poore, and if there be any aske what they must paye to this Box 'tis a Penny ere they passe away.¹

But the Cathedral was to suffer many worse things than children's sports or lotteries. The following excerpts give a picture of the state of things during the Civil War. Here are two specimens of popular ballads taken from the ' Rump Songs ' :

Then St. Paul's the Mother Church of this city and Nation
Was turned to a stable, O strange Profanation.
Yet this was one of their best fruits of Reformation.²

This was a bill posted on the Cathedral door :

This house is to be let,
It is both wide and fair ;
If you would know the price of it ;
Pray ask of Mr. Maior.³

The mayor was Isaac Pennington, who had no reverence for things hallowed, and was concerned in pulling down the Cross in the same year.

In one of James Howell's ' Familiar Letters ' about 1647, he writes :

The air of this City is not so (sweet) . . . in and about Paul's Church, where horse-dung is a yard deep . . . it was a bitter taunt of the Italian, who, passing by Paul's Church and seeing it full of horses : ' Now I perceive (said he) that in England men and beasts serve God alike.'

Archbishop Laud writes in his Diary, 1642, referring to the death of Lord Brooke who had been shot in the eye : ' Thus

¹ *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 57.

² *Rump Songs*, 1639-61, pt. ii. p. 122.

³ *Ibid.*, 1643.

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was his eye put out, who, about two years since, said he hoped to live to see at St. Paul's not one stone left upon another.' In a letter of 1648 we read: 'On Sunday an Independent Souldier would have preached in Paules, but was by the multitudes hurried to the Thames, and hardly escaped drowning.'¹

Here is an extract from an anonymous satire supposed to be a letter from a Frenchman in England:

But O how loathsome a spot is this Paul's. I assure your Lordship that England is the sole spot in all the world where amongst Christians their Churches are made jakes and stables, markets and tippling houses.²

'Poor Paul's,' so writes James Howell. 'Truly I think not Turk or Tartar, nor any creature except the Devil himself would have used Paul's in that manner; you know that once a stable was made a temple but now a temple is become a stable among us.'³

In Randolph's play 'Hey for Honesty,' published in 1651, someone says:

Go to Paul's. Duke Humphrey wants a guest.
If his rooms now be clear from Soldiers horse dung
There you may stay and walk your bellyful.⁴

In the same year as the play appeared, some attempt was made

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, Camden Soc., 168.

² 1659. *Character of England*, Harl. Miscell. x, 191.

³ *Familiar Letters*, VIII, xxxv.

⁴ Act IV, Sc. i. The play must have been written before 1634 when Randolph died, but the stabling of horses at Paul's was not so early. Possibly the 'S. I.' who set forth the comedy made some up-to-date additions. Another quotation points to the time when church dignitaries were abolished by the State:

(Plutus loq.) 'I have few livings left now to bestow,
My golden prebends which I had at Paul's
(You know) are sunk in th' dust.'

I, iii. In Act II, Sc. vi, there is an allusion to the Prayer-Book: 'Twas writ in David's time.'

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to stop nuisances in the Churchyard, as may be seen from the following special notice :

Forasmuch as the Inhabitants of Paul's Churchyard are much disturbed by the Souldiers and others calling out to passengers . . . and by playing at nine pinnes at unseasonable houres. These are therefore to command, etc. etc.

Chapter House

Stow has a note on the Chapter House which shews that even in his time, at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, neglect and irreverence very much prevailed. 'The rest of the south side of St. Pauls Church with the Chapter House (a beautifull peece of worke, builded about the raigne of Edward the Thirde) is now defaced by means of licences graunted to Cutlers, Budget-makers, and others, first to build low sheddes, but now high Houses.'¹

Before alluding to Paul's Cross, the great place of preaching, it will be interesting to go back to one memorable occasion in the life of Queen Elizabeth when she visited the great Cathedral, but for a greater purpose than the hearing of a sermon. The attempted invasion by Philip of Spain was the foremost event of the reign, and it was the long conflict with Rome which was one of the chief factors in bringing the great Armada to our shores, or more correctly to our seas. The Pope had done all that was possible to promote disaffection in England and to make treason a virtue on the grounds of religion. He then—to quote Sir Robert Naunton : 'by the hands of some of his Proselytes, fixed his Bulls on the Gates of Pauls, which discharged her [Queen Elizabeth's] subjects of all fidelity, and laid siege to the received faith, and so under the vail of the next Successor, to replant the Catholique Religion.'² We know the outcome.

¹ *Survey*, 1603, pp. 372-3.

² *c.* 1630. Sir Rob. Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, 1570, p. 32.

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The combined naval forces of Spain were annihilated and the Queen—to quote John Speed :

Queen Elizabeth, therefore, to bee her self an example unto others, upon the Sunday following . . . repayred from the Pallace of Whitehall in Westminster, through the streetes of London in great estate and came accompanied with her Nobilitie unto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul where dismounting from her chariot at the West-dore, shee humbled her selfe upon her knees and with great devotion audibly praised God—who had thus delivered the land from the rage of the enemy.¹

The hymn sung was written by John Still, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells :

From merciless invaders, from wicked men's device,
O God arise and helpe us to quele our enemies.
Sink deep their potent navies, their strength and corage breake,
O God arise and save us, for Jesus Christ his sake.

Baker, in his Chronicle, adds that the 'banners taken from the enemy were placed in view.'

(vij)

Paul's Cross — so called — outside the Cathedral was a The Cross
canopied pulpit and had been famous as a place of preaching for many years before Dugdale thus describes it :

Standing in the Church-yard on the North-side towards the East-end. The original occasion of erecting a cross here . . . was to put good people passing through such Cemiteries in minde to pray for the Souls of those whose bodies lay there interred. . . . But besides that use of the Cross in this place there hath been another made thereof and perhaps very antiently : viz. of Preaching there to the people.²

The Cross was first mentioned in 1259,³ when Henry III

¹ 1611. J. Speed, *Hist. of G. Britaine*, B. ix., c. xxiv.

² 1658. *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 128.

³ Close to the site of the Cross in the reign of Edward II a unique tragedy occurred as related in Higden's *Polychronicon*, 'The King's tresurer the bisshop of Excetere was byheaded withouten the north dore of Seynt Poules Chirche.'

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decreed that City youths should take oaths of allegiance there. We are told that in the first year of Edward I the Lord Mayor was elected there :

In this year . . . after long controversy with the Aldermen he, Walter Hardy, was made Major of London at a Folk moot or Common-Hall at Paul's Cross.¹

The Cross as it was in 1449, when erected by Thos. Kempe, Bishop of London, on the site of the Cross destroyed by earthquake in 1382, is depicted in a drawing, the original of which is in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge. It is a very plain and simple erection, raised on a platform. In front of the preacher is a bench, apparently reserved for distinguished visitors. The preacher appears to be a monk. A much later engraving shews the Pulpit Cross of the seventeenth century. The preacher wearing the Geneva gown has a large number of listeners. The east window of the Cathedral can be seen in the background. The sermons were sometimes unusually long, and as the congregation for the most part stood, a weariness of the flesh might be excused. It was said of William Lambe by his biographer :

He hath bene seene and marked at Powles Crosse to have continued from eight of the clocke untill eleven attentively listening to the Preachers voice, and to have endured the ende, being weake and aged when others both strong and lustie went away.²

The long sermon was a joy to the Puritan, and a dislike to frequent preaching a sign of 'malignancy.' Such a sermon would not have suited Queen Elizabeth, and she would probably have brought it to an end by personal intervention, as Dr. Heylyn tells us that when Dean Nowell was preaching before her 'she called aloud to him commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression and to return unto his text' (1560).³

¹ 1682. W. Gough, *Londinium Triumphans*, pt. i. p. 180.

² 1580. *A Memoriat of W. Lambe*, D iv. ³ *Ecclesia Restaurata*, ii. 317.

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The most eminent theologians of the day were selected to preach. Thomas Cromwell wrote in 1535: 'To my loving friend Master Parker' (afterwards Archbishop), telling him of his appointment as preacher.

Izaak Walton in his life of Hooker says :

Mr. Hooker was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross. In order to which sermon to London he came and immediately to the Shunamite's house . . . so called for that besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet for two days before and one day after his sermon.¹

Hooker himself says : ' That which I taught was at Paul's Cross ; it was not huddled in amongst other matters in such sort that it could pass without noting ; it was opened, it was proved.'²

The scene when an eminent preacher was in the pulpit is depicted in a painting by H. Farley. The east end of the Cathedral and the north transept can be seen.

Robert Burton writes in the Introduction to his ' Anatomy of Melancholy ' :

Had I been as forward and ambitious as some others I might have happily printed a sermon at Paules Crosse, a sermon in S. Maries Oxon &c., but I have ever been as desirous to suppress my labours in this kind, as others have been to presse and publish theirs.

From a poetical satire written in 1570 against the alleged Romanising party in the Church, one stanza may be quoted :

And here they prie, and there they spie,
Their equals forth to finde ;
And oft in Paules they parley forth
Their spiteful, cankered minde.³

¹ 1665. Walton's *Life of Hooker*. The house was at that time kept by one Churchman, a draper of Watling Street.

² 1594. *Ecclesiastical Polity* (1807), iii. 408.

³ J. Phillip, *A friendly Larum*.

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In a morality dialogue written about the same time and entitled 'Tyde taryeth no man,' reproof is given to those who attended a sermon only to mingle in the crowd and further their business affairs :

(*Corage*) To Paules Crosse what there will you doe,
Do you the preachers wordes so well like ?
(*Greedines*) Tush, for the preaching I passe not a pin
It is not the matter wherefore I do go
For that goeth out whereas it comes in,

Of my ill debtors there to spie some
Whome without delay by the heeles I will slap.¹
(*The Debtor*) Is the Sabbath Day and Paules Crosse
A time and place to vex thy debtor ?²

It was doubtless a good place for the pickpocket.

You shall not stick, Benedick, to give a shaue of your office [*i.e.* of cut-purse] at Paules Crosse in the sermon-time.³

The following shew that the Cross was a place of public penance for misdoers :

This yeere (1536) the 12 November there was a prist bore a faggott at Paules Crosse, standing in his surplesse for heresie, which priest did celebrate his masse with ale.⁴

If . . . wanton Rig, or letcher dissolute
Do stand at Pauls Crosse in a sheeten sute.⁵

Sir Giles Allington, who had married with his own niece, was convented before a Court of 8 Bishops . . . and forced . . . to be imprison'd or put in sufficient Bail till they had both done Penance at St. Paul's Cross or Great St. Maries at Cambridge.⁶

¹ 1576. G. Wapull, E. ii.

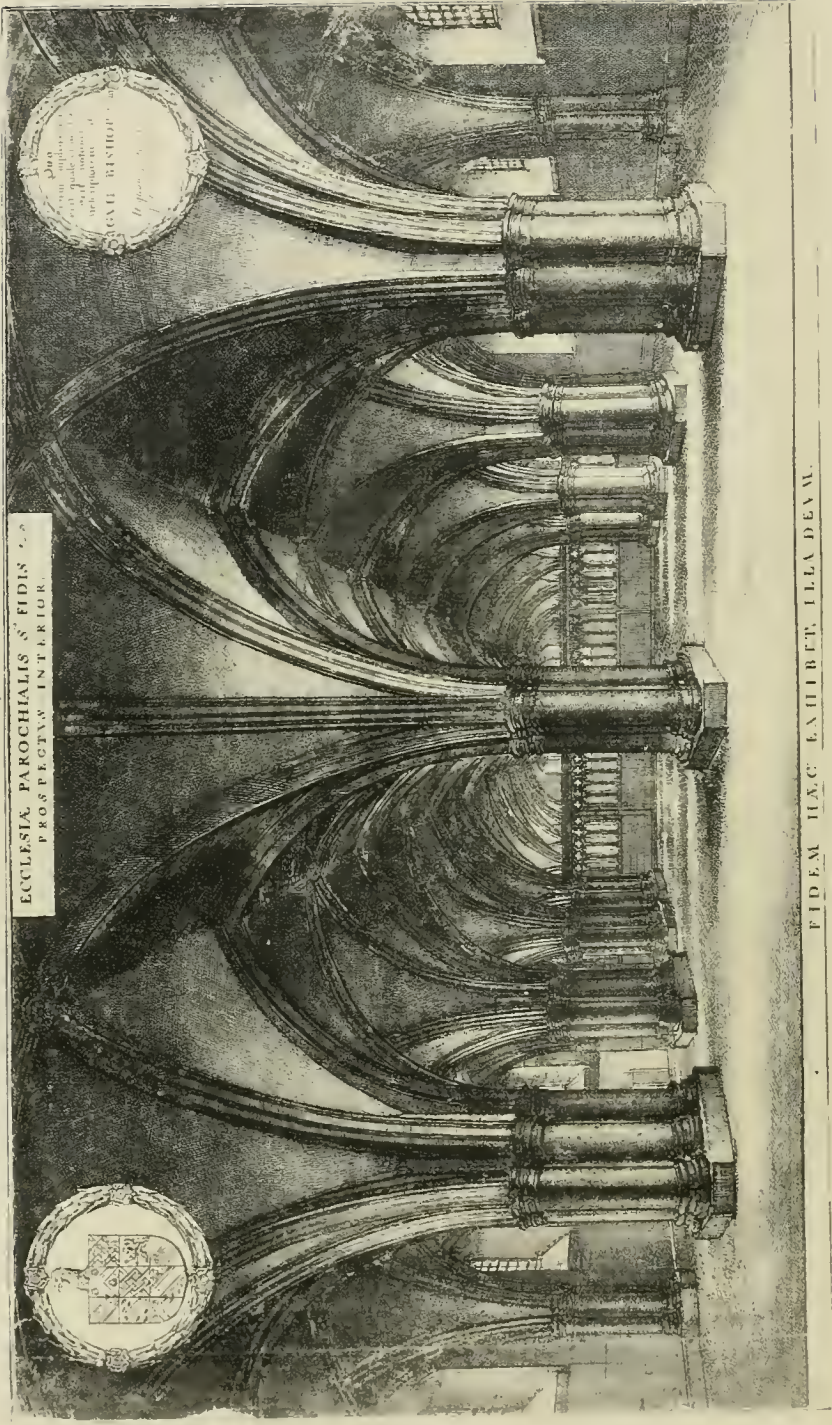
² *Ibid.* F. ii.

³ 1604. T.M. Black Book, F. i. b. (See *Oxford Dict.* under 'shave.')

⁴ Wriotheseley, *Chron.* (Camden Soc.), i. 58.

⁵ *a.* 1618. Davies of Hereford, *Scourge for Paper Prosecutors*, 1624, ii.

⁶ Baker's *Chron.* 1665, p. 499.



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It was a place for public cursing.

The first Sunday of November (1502) he (Henry VII) caused the said Earl Sir Robert Curson with 5 others to be accursed openly at Paul's Crosse as Enemies to him and his realm.¹

To be buried near the Cross was considered a privilege. In the will of John Watson, 'bruer,' *temp.* Henry VIII, we read :

To be buried near the cross in S. Paul's Church-yard. The Wardens and men of livery of his craft are desired yearly . . . on Christmas Day to turn towards his grave there and say *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* for his soul.²

(viiij)

The beautiful thirteenth-century church known as S. Faith S. Faith's has already been mentioned. It was really part of the structure of the Cathedral, being under the choir. Hollar's plate shews Gothic vaulting supported by three rows of clustered pillars, the style being somewhat similar to that of the Lady Chapel of S. Mary Overie, which may still be seen. Dugdale writes of it : ' This being a Parish Church dedicated to the honour of Saint Faith the Virgin was heretofore called *Ecclesia S. Fidis in Cryptis* or in the Croudes according to the vulgar expression.'³ The position of the church suggested an epigram with an allusion to the patron saint of the Cathedral :

This Church needs no repair at all
For Faith's defended by St. Paul,

and also afforded a simile in a play :

Our happy love may have a secret Church
Under the Church, as Faith's is under Paul's.⁴

¹ 1643. Baker's *Chron.*, Henry VII, 154.

² *Cal. of Wills. Court of Hustings*, Pt. ii. 649.

³ 1658. *St. Paul's*, p. 117. The tradition as to S. Faith is that she was roasted on a brazen bedstead and then beheaded (4th cent.). Her emblem is a bedstead and a sword. See *Saints' Emblems*, by Francis Bond.

⁴ *The Married Beau*, J. Crowne.

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Christopher Barker, Garter King-at-arms to Edward VI, after expressing a pious hope that his soul may be received into Abraham's bosom, directs under his will that his 'wretched corps and carcas' be buried in a vault which he had prepared in the long chapel next S. Faith's Church in Paules (1549).¹

Holinshed cites this epitaph on 'Master William Lambe' who was there buried :

As I was, so are ye ;
As I am, you shall be ;
That I had, that I gave :
That I gave, that I have :
Thus I end all my cost :
That I left, that I lost.²

His biographer says :

His bodie entombed and laid asleepe in a faire large vawte in S. Faithes-under-Powles.³

The above epitaph has acquired some fame, but there is another of different quality in which there is a punning allusion to the name. The conclusion is :

That at the day when Lambes and Goates shall sever,
Of thy choice Lambes, Lambe may be one for ever.

Jesus
Chapel

Jesus Chapel, already mentioned, was placed eastward of S. Faith's. It was suppressed in the reign of Edward VI, and S. Faith's congregation had the use of it. We read in the State Papers that there was a Guild of 'Jesus in the Crowds' authorised to collect alms.⁴ At the beginning of the Civil War the living was sequestrated, and Dr. Brown, the rector, was ejected. After the Restoration Dr. Jackson, then in possession, was ejected for non-conformity. After the Great Fire the

¹ *Cal. of Wills. Court of Hustings*, pt. ii. 653.

² 1586. *Chron.* p. 1313.

³ 1580. *Memorial of William Lambe*. See also under *Lamb's Chapel*.

⁴ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. viii. 1100.

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parish was annexed to that of S. Augustine, Old-Change, and so continues to this day.

This is the only church in London having this dedication. S. Faith, Virgin and Martyr, suffered under the Emperor Adrian.

(jx)

The fabric of the Cathedral was in a poor state of repair for Repair a century before its destruction by fire. Each reigning monarch of the period professed good intentions, and there were spasmodic efforts and fitful energy, yet little was effected. In 1561 Queen Elizabeth wrote to Archbishop Parker :

We know there nedeth no meanes to provoke you to further the reedifieng of the Church of S. Poules, a right necessary work to be finished and that with spede.

Yet ten years after Elizabeth's death, James being on the throne, we find Howes writes in 1613¹:

There was not any Church worke done in fiftie yeares untill now and notwithstanding the generall repaire of Churches yet Poules escaped repairing, paving and beautifying.¹

In 1620 the Bishop of London, John King, preached a sermon on behalf of the rebuilding. The sermon, which was printed, was replete with eloquent urgency. 'I am full as the moone,' he said, 'and must speak to take breath.'

James contemplated complete restoration, and promoted subscriptions for that purpose, but not much was done. Waller alludes to this in his poem on repairing S. Paul's:²

When the first monarch of this happy isle
Moved with the ruin of so brave a pile
This work of cost and piety begun
To be accomplished by his glorious son,
Who all that came within the ample thought
Of his wise sire hath to perfection brought.

¹ 1615. E. Howes, *Continuation of Stow's Annals*, p. 892.

² E. Waller, 1645.

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'It hath twice suffered martyrdom, and both by fier.' Bishop Corbet said: 'St. Paul complains of stoning twice, his Church of firing; 'tis but stoning that she wants indeed, and a good stoning would repair her.'¹

Coal smoke was said to have had a damaging influence:

Meantime imagine that Newcastle coals
Which (as Sir Inigo saith) have perisht Paul's
And by the skill of Marquis would-be Jones
'Tis found that smoke's salt did corrupt the stones.²

Charles I shewed some energy in the matter, and we read in Rushworth's 'Historical Collections':

The Devotion of those times (1631) undertook a vast and expensive work, the repairing of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's. To which end a Commission under the great seal was awarded . . . His Majesty therein declaring that he had taken into serious and princely consideration the great decays of that building, the same being the goodliest monument and most eminent Church in all his Dominions and a princely ornament of the Royal City. The Commissioners had authority for taking of an exact survey of the particular decays of the Church and calculating the charges thereof.

The Lords' Committee resolved 'The work not to begin till there be ten thousand pounds in bank.'³ In Baker's Chronicle there is this comment: 'This motion, though many repined, was so far entertained by the Generality that a considerable sum was gathered, and the work had a fair progress till the coming on of the troubles put a stop and period to it (1632).'

⁴ The King's biographer writes to the same effect: 'He showed his own zeal for the Ornaments of it [*i.e.* Religion] and spent part of his treasure towards the repair of St. Paul's Church and by his

¹ Charge of Bishop Corbet, *c.* 1630.

² 1642. Sir Fr. Kynaston, *Cynthiades*.

³ Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, pt. ii. pp. 89, 90.

⁴ 1665. Baker's *Chronicle of Charles I*, p. 501.

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example . . . drew many of his subjects to a Contribution for it.' ¹

A certain quantity of material was purchased and remained unused in the Churchyard. It was treated as the private property of the King, for we find that after the execution an inventory was made of the household goods of King Charles I, and it contains this item, with value annexed :

Stones at Paules Church
Black marble steps 508 pieces £150.
Remaining there still.²

Probably these stones are alluded to in the following passage from Bishop Burnet's History :

Before the war there were some designs on foot for the repairing of S. Paul's and many stones were brought thither. That project was laid aside during the War. He (the Earl of Clarendon) bought the stones and made use of them in building his own house.³

According to Heylyn, Westminster lands were in some way made contributory to the needs of S. Paul's, and the saying 'Robbing Peter to pay Paul' had its origin from that fact.⁴

A higher note is struck by Sir John Denham in his poem 'Cooper's Hill' :

' That sacred pile so vast, so high
That whether 'tis a part of earth or sky
Uncertain seems, and may be thought a proud
Aspiring mountain, or descending cloud.
Now shalt thou stand, though sword or time or fire
Or zeal more fierce than they thy fall conspire !
Secure, whilst thee the best of poets sings,
Preserved from ruin by the best of kings.⁵

By 'the best of poets' he means Edmund Waller, and by

¹ 1662. R. Royston, *Life of Charles I*, p. 14.

² MS. Harleian, 4898.

³ Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, B. II.

⁴ 1657. *Ecclesia Restaurata*, 1674, p. 121.

⁵ 1642. *Cooper's Hill*, p. 1.

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‘the best of kings’ Charles I, who continued the work his father had commenced, and at his own private expense completed the restoration of the western end with the Classical porch of Inigo Jones. Writing to a friend in Holland in 1665 James Howell said :

While you adorn your Churches there, we destroy them here. Among others, poor Pouls looks like a great Skeleton, so pitifully handled that you may tell her ribs through her skin, her body looks like the hulk of a huge Portugal Carake, that . . . lies rotting upon the Strand.¹

On August 27, 1666, Evelyn wrote in his Diary :

I went to S. Paul’s Church, where with Dr. Wren . . . the Bishop of London, the Deane of S. Paule’s, and several expert workmen, we went about to survey the generall decays of that ancient and venerable Church.

The Fire

The contemplated repairs were rendered unnecessary, as a week afterwards the Great Fire broke out and the grand old cathedral church, the glory of London for six centuries, lay in ruins. The fire was invincible :

Nor could thy fabric, Paul’s, defend thee long,
Though thou wert sacred to thy Maker’s praise.

So Dryden wrote in the same year,² and he further described the destruction of the choir :

The daring flames peeped in, and saw from far
The awful beauties of the sacred quire ;
But since it was prophaned by civil war
Heaven thought it fit to have it purged by fire.

‘Paul’s is burnt, and all Cheapside,’ Pepys entered in his Diary on September 4 ; and on the 7th, ‘Saw all the towne burnt, and a miserable sight of Paul’s Church with all the roofs fallen.’

¹ *Familiar Letters*, IV, xxxv.

² 1666. *Annus Mirabilis*, 275 and 276.

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Evelyn wrote on September 3 :

The fire having continued all this night . . . was now taking hold of St. Paul's Church to which the scaffold contributed exceedingly ;

and on the 4th :

The burning still rages. The stones of Paul's flew like grenados, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream ;

and on the 7th :

I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly Church of St. Paul now a sad ruin, and that beautiful portico—for structure comparable to any in Europe—now rent in pieces . . . nothing remaining entire but the inscription in the Arch. The ruins of the vaulted roof, falling, broke into S. Faith's, which being filled with the Magazines of bookes belonging to ye Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were consumed, burning for a week following. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church, one of the most antient pieces of early piety in ye Christian World.

Sir John Denham, whose reflections on S. Paul's from Cooper's Hill have already been quoted, filled many parts in an eventful life ; poet, scholar, soldier, he took the King's side in the Civil War, and was High Sheriff of Surrey and governor of Farnham Castle when it was besieged. At the Restoration he was created Knight of the Bath and received the appointment of Surveyor-General. He died in 1669, and could therefore have taken but little part in any schemes for the rebuilding of S. Paul's, but his interest is shewn from the following extract from his will made in 1668 :

And whereas I am surveyor-generall for the rebuilding of St. Paul's Church, London, I doe give and bequeath all my fees (being twenty shillings per diem) gratis towards that noble and pious worke and as a further remembrance of my affection to the same doe give the some of one hundred pounds to the said Church of St. Paul's to be paid when the said Church shall begin to be in some forwardnes to be rebuilt.¹

¹ Camden Soc., No. lxxxij.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH
OF S. PETER

commonly known as

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

S. MARGARET'S CHURCH AND THE
CHAPELS

CHAPTER II

WESTMINSTER ABBEY AND S. MARGARET'S

THE history of the Abbey has been told and re-told many times, and put on record by the pens of many 'ready writers.' The present author aims no higher than the collection of some references in sixteenth and seventeenth century literature as a further contribution to the subject ; but such references are not so numerous as might be supposed. We find in the writers of the time, great though it was in the production of literary work of the highest order, but little feeling of reverent and enthusiastic admiration for our old ecclesiastical buildings,¹ or delight in the structure of such a church as Westminster Abbey as an artistic production of the first rank ; nor can we trace any of that poetic sense of its romantic beauty which largely prevails among educated men of the present day. There are exceptions, but for the most part the allusions to the Abbey by writers either in prose or verse are as a place of great and solemn functions—as the coronation place of kings and their sepulchre ; the burial-place of the great or the notable, whose monuments offered an occasion for panegyric or afforded a subject for moralising or reflection.

(j)

The stately and famous S. Peters hath by degrees come to its present bewtie :

so writes Norden in his 'Speculum.'

¹ The same want of perception prevailed in the eighteenth century : *e.g.* in *Magna Britannia* we read, apropos of S. Helen's, one of the finest of the old Gothic

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Many hands have been helpers to the finishing thereof. Edgar . . . Edward the Confessor . . . Henry the Third, when he had pulled downe what the Confessor had set up, rayased a more stately worke in the yeere of Christ 1229 and finished the same in the yeere 1285.¹

Thomas Fuller observes :

a rare structure, with so small and slender Pillars to support so weighty a fabric,

and his rather commonplace comment is :

Greatest legs argue not the strongest man.²

Stow, the greatest of topographers, has no word of appreciation of the beauties of the thirteenth-century nave and choir. He mentions Abbot Islip in connexion with 'the stone worke and glasse windowes of the Church';³ but this must refer to a period two centuries later, as it was Islip who built Henry VII's chapel.

Sir William Dugdale gives little beyond the bare statement of facts and dates, and seems to be more interested in the Abbots than in the Abbey. Leaving the earlier history we may cite him for Henry III's work, most of which remains to this day.

In 1221 the new work of the Lady Chapel at Westminster was undertaken, the first stone of which was laid that year on Whitsun eve by King Henry the Third.

In 1245, 24 years after the erection of the Lady Chapel, King Henry the Third pulled down the greater part of the Church to renew it, as some assert upon the old foundation. Matthew Paris says, he ordered the east end, the tower and the transepts to be taken down and re-built in a more elegant form at his own expense.⁴

churches, 'A neat and handsome building, well pewed and wainscotted'; and of another City church that survived the Fire, 'Having been repaired and beautified is handsome enough, *considering its antiquity*.'

¹ Norden, *Speculum Britanniae* (1593), i. 43, 'which was finished in the reign of Edward I,' was what Norden meant to say.

² *Worthies of England* (1662), ii. 235.

³ Stow's *Survey* (1603), p. 461.

⁴ Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (c. 1661: ed. 1846), vol. i. p. 270.

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This 'more elegant form' was the Early English Gothic which took the place of the Norman work of the old church, though in Henry's church some of the Norman arches remained, for a further period of about one hundred years.¹ In many other cases we find the Norman nave remaining, the eastern portion of the church being finished in thirteenth-century Gothic, as it was in Old S. Paul's, as mentioned in the last chapter.

According to Hardyng, Henry did not entirely finish the work :

King Henry had then made the minster faire
Of Westminster as it is now this daye,
The remnant he left unto his heire
To edifie and make a like araye
Or els a some of money for to paye.²

For the general aspect of the building a late seventeenth-century writer may be cited :

If then we intend to take a view of her outward shape . . . before we come to behold her beauteous entrails, we shall see it best and least confused on the North and South-east parts thereof, as being less encumbered with private buildings, by which she seems in some places altogether hid and obscured.³

The north side has in our own days undergone considerable restoration and is, as it was in the author's time, much exposed to weather, but his allusion to injury by smoke seems to indicate conditions less favourable than at present :

On the North part you rather behold the skeleton of a Church than any great comeliness in her appearance, being so shrivelled and parcht by the continual Smoaks of Sea-coal which are of corroding and fretting

¹ We are told that the architects engaged on the work were Otho the Goldsmith and Edward his son (Fitz Otho and Edward of Westminster) ; John of Gloucester and William the Monk of Westminster (see Hudson Turner, 1877, vol. i. p. 89). As to Norman work, see Addenda.

² Hardyng, *Chronicle* (1543), ed. Ellis, p. 281.

³ H. Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* (1681), p. 22.

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quality which have added more furrows to her declining years that little of her former beauty now remains.¹

We quote Keepe's 'Monumenta' once more for the sake of giving his impressions and for details of dimensions. If addressing modern readers, Keepe would not have thought it necessary to give elementary details as to the form of Gothic architecture :

You will find it built in the form of a Cross whose Vault and side Isles are supported by eight and forty Pillars of grey marble each distant from the other eight foot and from thence another row of lesser Pillars, double the number of the first, of the same marble to the upper roof or Vault sixty foot. The Vault itself being supported by these Pillars whose arches turn not upon the Semy-Circle (according to the Roman manner) but meet in acute angles in imitation of the Gothic way of building. . . . The length being 360 foot only to the stairs of the Chappel of our Lady. The breadth of the Nave 75 foot ; of the Cross 195.²

The north porch he describes as 'a most noble Door or Portal, and on each side thereof two lesser Portico's of which only one serves for the convenience of entering . . . assuming to itself no less a name than that of the Porch of Solomon. . . . In it were placed the statues of the twelve Apostles besides a multitude of lesser Saints and Martyrs.'³ There is something approaching a poetic touch in Henry Keepe's quaintly expressed impressions of the interior of the Abbey, and it is interesting to know that he was a member of the choir :

Though she seems by her outward shape and appearance to be cloathed with the disconsolate veil of widowhood, yet if we enter by the great West door . . . you will behold her sound at heart, not adorned with the gayeties of a new-made Bride, yet endowed with all the graces of a noble Matron sufficient at once to attract the eyes and contemplations

¹ H. Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* (1681), p. 23.

² *Ibid.* p. 26.

³ *Ibid.* p. 24.

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of the ingenious to admire her and frighten away the vanity of Idle Fools by her venerable countenance from despising her.¹

Keepe alludes enthusiastically to the pavement in front of the high altar :

That noble and most glorious inlaid Floor still remaining intire, that was done by command and charge of Richard de Ware, Abbot of Westminster 1260.

(ij)

The unique addition erected by Henry VII on the site of Chapel of
Henry VII 'the Chappel of our Laidy, builded by Henry the Third'² at the east end of the Abbey, seemed to make more impression on contemporary writers than the original building, though Fuller introduces it rather to point a moral :

Looking on the Chapel of King Henry the Seventh in Westminster (God grant I may once again see it, with the Saint who belongs to it, our Sovereign, there in a well-conditioned place) . . . I have much admired the curious workmanship thereof. It added to the wonder that it is so shadowed with mean houses well-nigh on all sides, that one may almost touch it as soon as see it. Such a structure needed no base buildings about it to set it off. Rather this Chapel may pass for the emblem of a great worth living in a private way.³

Norden writes :

A chappell erected by Henry VII which in regarde of the beautie and curious contriued worke thereof is called of Lelande *Orbis miraculum*. The wonder of the worlde.⁴

A later author already quoted writes :

That curious Chappell of the Blessed Virgin, built by King Henry VII whose Battlements, Windows, Supports and adornments speak no less

¹ H. Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* (1681), p. 25.

² Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 461.

³ Thomas Fuller, *Mixt Contemplations on Better Times* (1660), vi.

⁴ Norden, *Speculum Britanniae* (1593), i. 43.

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the magnificence of the Founder than the Mastership of the Inventer and skill of the Workmen.¹

Of the side chapels, ten in number and dedicated respectively to S. Blase, S. Benedict, S. Edmond, S. Nicholas, S. Andrew, S. Michael, S. John the Evangelist, S. Erasmus, S. John Baptist, and S. Paul, he says that they 'serve to flanck up this church notably to its advantage and credit.'²

Strype in his edition of Stow says :

The charges in building this Chapel amounted to the sum of 14,000*l.* The Altar and Sepulchre of the same King Henry the Seventh . . . was made and finished in the year 1519 by one Peter a painter in Florence for which he received 1000*l.* sterling for the whole stuff and workmanship.³

Milton may have had this chapel in his mind when he wrote of loving

the high embowed Roof
And storied Windows richly dight,⁴

though his allusion to 'antick Pillars' would not have applied to the wonderful stone roof with its fan-tracery vaulting and pendants, supported entirely by the buttressed walls, but rather to the nave or choir of the Abbey.

It was Milton the poet who wrote this ; but it was Milton the Puritan Polemic who spoke this eloquent piece of prose :

Planting our faith one while in the old Convocation House, and another while in the Chappell at Westminster ; when all the faith and religion that shall be there canoniz'd, is not sufficient without plain con-

¹ H. Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* (1681), p. 23.

By 'supports' the writer is probably alluding to the flying buttresses which are a feature in the exterior of the structure.

² *Op. cit.* p. 27.

³ Book VI, chap. i. p. 10.

⁴ *Il Penseroso*. Possibly of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, which is similar and has also very fine windows. None of the stained glass now remains in Henry VII's Chapel, with the solitary exception of the portrait of the King himself.

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vincement, and the charity of patient instruction to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edifie the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the Spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made, no though Harry the 7 himself there, with all his leige tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead, to swell their number.¹

The concluding lines of Bacon's 'Life of Henry VII' ought not to be omitted :

He lyeth buried at Westminster, in one of the Stateliest and Daintiest Monuments of Europe, both for the Chappell and for the Sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly Dead in the Monument of his Tombe, then he did Aliue in Richmond or any of his Palaces.²

It is thought that the name 'Scala Coeli,' which sometimes appears, was applied to Henry VII's Chapel. In the accounts of S. Margaret's Church there is an entry 'To the Keper of the Scala celi in the Abby iiijd.'

(iij)

For a short period after the dissolution of the monastery in 1539 the Church of S. Peter was elevated to the rank of an Episcopal See, Thomas Thirleby, as Stow writes, 'being the first and last Bishop,' but the following shews that under Edward VI this ceased. Heylyn writes :

I find a memorandum that on the twenty-ninth of this present January (1551-2) the bishoprick of Westminster was dissolved by the King's letters patent. . . . Most of the lands invaded by great men of the Court, the rest laid out for reparation to the Church of S. Paul—pared almost to the very quick in those days of rapine. From thence came first that significant by-word (as is said by some) of robbing Peter to pay Paul.³

¹ *Areopagitica* (1644).

² *Life of Henry VII* (1622), p. 247.

³ Peter Heylyn, *Ecclesia Restaurata* (1661), ed. 1849, i. 256.

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Abbey

In the fourth year of Queen Mary a convent of Benedictines was re-established with John de Feckenham as Abbot : yet, in a letter of John Elder the Abbey is alluded to as a College at the time of the Queen's marriage :

And after they had bene in Westminster Colledge, where their Majesties were receyved with procession and heard masse, they departed to Hampton Court.¹

Sir John Hayward alludes to reorganisation in the early days of Queen Elizabeth :

A Collegiate Church

In stead of the Abbot and Monkes at Westminster it was ordeyned that a Deane, Prebendes and Cannones should then be placed under the names of the Colledge of Westminster.²

So it would seem that the last of the Abbots, John Feckenham, had but a short reign, 'concerning which there goes a story'—so writes Heylyn :³

that the Lord Abbot being then busied in planting some young elms in the Dean's yard there, one that came by advised him to desist . . . that the bill was just then passed for dissolving the Monastery. To which the good old man replied that he resolved howsoever to go on with his work, being well assured that the Church would be always kept for an encouragement to and seat of learning.

Later on we find Nash complaining of the paucity of saints :

Westminster, Westminster ! Thou hadst a sanctuary in thee once but hast few saints left in thee now ;⁴

and an ordinance was necessary to bring the burgesses to church on Sunday :

The Burgesses and Assistants shall in convenient order every Sabbath Day in the Forenoone, come to the Collegiate Church of S. Peter in West-

¹ *On the Marriage of King Phillip and Queen Mary* (1555), Camden Soc., p. 152.

² *Annals of first four years of reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1616).

³ *Ecclesia Restaurata* (1661).

⁴ *Pierce Pennilesse* (1592), Shakespeare Society, 63.

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minster and there to be present all the time of the Sermon upon paine every one of them, for every time makeing default without just cause, shall forfeit and pay Four Pence.¹

In the next century an epigram points to the church being rich but wanting in learning :

S. Peter's Church is by th' Exchequer plac'd,
Hard by Whitehall with the King's presence grac'd.
But by S. Paul's learned Divines doe preach
And there are sold those books which learning teach.
They're fitly plac'd, Paul's here, S. Peter's there ;
Peter the richer, Paul the learned.²

(jv)

The Abbey being, as a poet describes it,

Coronations

that antique pile . . .
Where royal heads receive the sacred gold,³

the pageantry and ceremonial attending the royal coronation afford many references. We are told that Edward I brought the Coronation Stone from Scotland. As Weever has it :

Sending to Westminster the marble stone, wherein (as the vulgar were persuaded) the fate of the Kingdom consisted ;⁴

and he continues (quoting Hardyng's 'Chronicle') :

And as he came homewarde by Skone awaye,
The Regall there of Scotlande then he brought
And sent it forth to Westmynster for aye
To be there in a cheire clenely wrought
For a masse preaste to sit in when he ought.⁵

¹ Ordinance 27th year of Q. Elizabeth.

² R. Hutton, *Epig.* tr. fr. J. Owen (1628), B. iii. 200.

³ Edm. Waller, *St. James's Park* (1661).

⁴ *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 458-9.

⁵ Hardyng's *Chron.* cap. 162.

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In another place Hardyng has :

On which y^e Scottish Kynges were brechlesse set
At their coronamente.

Norden describes it as

a stone in forme of a Chaire, sometime serving as the throne of the Kings of Scots and wherein they were crowned.¹

Paul Hentzner, in his 'Travels,' says that he was told that the stone was

said to be that on which the patriarch Jacob slept when he dreamed he saw a ladder reaching quite up into Heaven.²

Edward the First's coronation took place about two years after his accession, at which time he was abroad. The ceremony is described by Pierre de Langtoft about twenty-five years after the event :

Crowned was King Edward in the Abbey
Of Westminster in the presence of barons and clergy.
Likewise Queen Eleanor, his love,
Was crowned that day.

But the original Old-French will perhaps be preferred by the reader :

Corouna le rays sire Edwarde en le abbaye
De Westmonster, temoyne barneze clergie
Ausynt la rayne Elyanor sa amye,
Fu corouné le jour.³

In allusion to the ceremony we find in Shakespeare's 'Richard III' :

Come, Madame, you must straight to Westminster,
There to be crowned Richard's Royall Queene.⁴

¹ *Speculum Britanniae* (1593), p. 43.

² *Travels*, 1608 (tr. 1797, p. 12).

³ c. 1300. *Rolls Chronicles*, vol. ii. p. 166.

⁴ Act IV, Sc. i. (1597).

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From a popular metrical account of Henry the Eighth's coronation we may quote :

To Westminster thus 'gan he passe
To take the crowne his ryght,
Where both his Queene and he were crownde
To Englands great delyght.¹

When Henry's second Queen was crowned, the crowd was very great. Again we quote Shakespeare :

Where have you bin broiling ?
Among the crowd i' th' abbey, where a finger
Could not be wedged in more.²

This coronation ceremony with the procession and pageant is described in a contemporary book published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1533 and entitled ' The noble tryumphaunt coronacyon of quene Anne wyfe upon the moost noble Kynge Henry the VIII. '

Sir John Hayward thus describes Queen Elizabeth's coronation :

The day following being Sunday, shee was, with all accustomed ceremonyes, crowned in the Abbey Church at Westminster having made demonstration of soe many Princely vertues before, that all men wer of opinione that one crowne was not sufficient to adorn them.³

Heylyn tells us :

She was crowned according to the order of the Roman Pontifical by Dr. Owen Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, the only man among all the Bishops who could be wrought on by her to perform that office.

We read in Baker's ' Chonicle ' (Charles I) :

After which [*i.e.* the Coronation Ceremony] the King disrobed himself in King Edwards Chappel and came forth girt in a short robe of red

¹ Fulwell's *Flower of Fame* (1575), Harl. Miscell. ix. 349.

² *Henry VIII*, IV, i. (1623).

³ 1636. *Annals of Queen Elizabeth* (1840), p. 18.

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Velvet, lin'd with Ermine and a lesser Crown upon his Head, and taking Barge at Westminster Stairs, he returned to White-Hall.¹

It was the ceremonial used by Archbishop Laud on this occasion that roused the wrath and provoked the invective of William Prynne :

We shall next follow this Romish Fox from White Hall to Westminster Abby ; where in Jan. 1625 he exercised the office of Deane of Westminster at his Majesties Coronation. In this solemnity of high concernment we shall give you a short information what he did with reference only to Popish Superstition and Innovation : In generall he compiled the forme of his Majesties Coronation different from that of K. Edward the 6th and K. James ; inserting some prayers and Ceremonies into it out of the Roman Pontificall.²

In the time of the Civil War (1643) :

M^r Henry Martin a member of Parliament adventured to seize the Regalia, which were repositied in Westminster Abbey, and he was heard to say . . . that the time would come when there will be no need of Crowns and Sceptres.³

This theft by Martin is alluded to six years later in a farcical play called ' New-Market-Fayre.' An ' Outcry ' (*i.e.* auction) was being held and State commodities were being put to sale. Cromwell, one of the characters, says :

Where is the Crown that Martyn took from the Abby at Westminster some foure years since ? I think it fits my temples.

(*Cryer*). Here ' tis, Sir ; try it on ; so now 'tis sure and makes you look more like a King then Brewer.⁴

In later times the crown and sceptre and the other symbols of royalty were kept as they are now in the Tower.

¹ (1665) p. 466.

² W. Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (1646), p. 69.

³ Baker's *Chronicle* (1665), p. 570.

⁴ *New-Market Fayre* (1649), p. 4.

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Samuel Pepys, who never missed a public function, had a great day on the Coronation of Charles II :

About four I rose and got to the Abbey . . . and with much ado did get up into a great scaffold . . . where with a great deal of patience I sat from past 4 till 11 before the King came in. And a great pleasure it was to see the Abbey . . . all covered with red and a throne (that is a chaire) and footstool on the top of it ; and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, in red vests.¹

But when Charles died, there was a strange absence of pomp or ceremony and not even the pretence of a public funeral. Evelyn notes briefly :

The King (Charles II) was this night very obscurely buried in a vault under Henry VII Chapel, without any manner of pomp and soon forgotten after all this vanity.²

Aubrey, who seems to have believed in omens, records :

When King James II was crowned (according to the ancient custom the Peers go to the Throne and kiss the King), the Crown was almost kissed off his head. An Earl did set it right.³

(v)

The Abbey and precincts formed a Sanctuary, from whence, according to Stow, 'it hath not beene lawfull for any prince or other, to take any person that fled thether for any cause.'⁴ There is an allusion in Ben Jonson's 'Staple of News' :

All the news of the two Sanctuaries . . . with King's-street and Cannon Row to boot.⁵

This privilege of sanctuary, which dates from early Saxon times, was confirmed by charter of Edward the Confessor,

¹ *Diary*, April 23, 1661.

² *Ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1685.

³ *Miscellanies* (1697).

⁴ *Survey of London* (1603), p. 465.

⁵ (1631) III, ii.

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which (according to Stow and other writers who repeated him) pronounces a curse on anyone daring to set it aside.

And whosoever presumes or doth contrary to this my Graunt, I will hee lose his name, worship, dignity and power ; and that with the great Traytor Judas that betrayed our Saviour, he be in the everlasting fire of Hell.¹

In this Sanctuary was born in 1470 the ill-fated Edward V, as is recorded in Warkworth's 'Chronicle,' written at or about the time :

Also Quene Elizabeth Kynge Edwardes wyf . . . when sche herde that here soevereyne and husbonde was fledde went . . . into sanctuary at Westmynster with alle here children and sche was delyverede ther ryght of a sonne that was callede Prynce Edward of Englonde.²

(vi)

We read in the State Papers that a greater Queen Elizabeth seems to have visited the Abbey officially at the opening of Parliament :

Jan. 16, 1581. The Queenes Highnes, with the L.L. and Bishoppes in Parliamente robes, did ryde from her Ma^{ts} Pallaice at Whitehall to Westminster Church, and there heard a sermon.³

S. Margaret's was the Parish Church of Westminster ; but it is evident that the Abbey is here indicated, as on another opening of Parliament eight years later the Abbey is miscalled 'the Cathedral Church of Westminster.'⁴

The Bells

Stow has an allusion to the clock-tower and bells, but the great bell alluded to in the following quotation was probably

¹ Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 466. Mr. Kingsford, in a note in his edition of Stow, throws a doubt on the accuracy of this curse.

² Camden Society, p. 13.

³ *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, vol. 147.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1589.

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the one in the Clochard in the Little Sanctuary which was rung only at coronations :

Lastly call to mind the greevous and suddain Earthquake hapning heer in London. . . . The great Bel of Westminster tolled of itself, Whitehall shook ; a peece of the Temple Church fel downe.'¹

Here is another story from a tract of James I's time, which possibly alludes to the same event :

When Father Campian came an Apostle into England, there was an earthquake. Nay the great bell of Westminster toll'd of itself—that I think is a lowd-ringing lye.²

A writer of a metrical history of the Rebellion makes use of the bells to point a moral :

'Tis time the Bells of Westminster
Chime backwards and retire,
To quench the flames, when as we hear
The Kingdom's all on fire.³

(vii)

A few of the many allusions to burials, monuments, and **Monuments** epitaphs may be cited. Francis Beaumont, as to the monuments, says, ' They preach " In greatness is no trust ! " '

Here are sands, ignoble things,
Drop't from the ruin'd sides of Kings ;
Here's a world of pomp and state
Buried in dust, once dead by Fate.⁴

There was a Keeper of the Monuments who acted as showman

¹ Anthony Munday, *Sundry Examples*, Shakespeare Society, 97.

² John Gee, *The Foot out of the Snare* (1624), Somers Tracts, iii. 68.

³ M. Nedham, *Hist. of Rebellion* (1661), p. 23.

⁴ *On the Tombs in Westminster Abbey* (1616).

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under instructions, as we may gather from an epigram which is said to refer to Samuel Daniel :

He first taught him that keeps the monuments
At Westminster his formal tale to say.¹

A strange story is told as to the remains of Edward the Confessor. Charles Taylour, one of the choirmen, relates a discovery he made in 1688 in the coffin :

Now it happen'd not long after the Coronation of oure present Majesties, that the aforesaid Coffin or Chest was found to be broke and an hole made in the upper lid thereof. . . . I fetched a ladder . . . and putting my hand in the hole and turning the bones . . . I drew from underneath the shoulder bones a Crucifix richly adorned and enamelled and a Gold Chain of four and twenty inches long unto which it was affixed.

Taylour seems to have kept these for some time, shewing them to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir William Dugdale, and afterwards in person presented them to the King. He adds in his narrative :

I drew the head to the hole and viewed it being very sound and firm with the upper and lower jaws whole and full of teeth.²

Henry III, who built the thirteenth-century church, was buried there—his body, but not his heart, for Dugdale writes :

In 1292 the Abbot (Walter de Wenlok) delivered the heart of King Henry the third to the Abbess of Font Evraud in Normandy, to whom it appears from an instrument upon the Patent Roll the King had promised it.³

Alluding to the third Henry as the builder of the church

¹ Sir John Davies, *Epig.* 30 (1621).

² Charles Taylour, *A true and perfect Narrative*, etc. (1688), pp. 5, 6, 10.

³ Dugdale, *Monasticon* (ed. 1846), i. 274.

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still standing, his epitaph reads: 'Tertius Henricus est Templi conditor hujus 1273.'

The friend of pity and almsdeed,
Henry the Third whilom of England King,
Who this Church brake and after his meed
Again renewed into this fair building :
Now resteth here which did so great a thing.¹

Weever, writing of the tomb of Richard II, has :

He [Henry V] made for him a glorious Tombe and glosing Epitaph . . . which to any who knowes upon what points he was put out of Maiestie and State, may seeme strange if not ridiculous.²

The 'glosing Epitaph' begins 'Prudens et mundus Richardus iure secundus,' but Fabian, who translated it, thinks that 'some clerke' had favoured him, for 'by his story appereth in him some blame.'

In connection with Richard II an unnamed Abbot is mentioned in Shakespeare's play. This was William de Colchester, a friend to Richard, but imprisoned for a time by Henry IV.³ In Westminster Hall, after the deposition of Richard, the Abbot says:

A woeful pageant have we here beheld;

and later on:

. . . I will lay
A plot shall show us all a merry day.⁴

His death is announced in the last act:

The grand Conspirator, Abbot of Westminster,
With clog of conscience and sour melancholy
Hath yielded up his body to the grave.⁵

¹ H. Keepe, *Monumenta*, p. 304.

² *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 471.

³ See *William of Colchester*, by Archdeacon Pearce (1915).

⁴ *Richard II*, Act iv.

⁵ *Ibid.* V, vi.

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The murdered Richard II was not buried at Westminster at the time of his death. According to Hardyng:

At Poules his masse was done and diryge
 At Westminster then dyd they so the same,
 But then the Kyng hym faste to Langley sent
 For menne should have no remembraunce of hym.¹

But Henry V, after his coronation, buried him at Westminster :

And fro the freres of Langley where he laye,
He caryed hym to Westmynster anone
And buryed hym of royall greate araye
With the quene Anne in tombe of marbel stone.²

According to Stow, the images of Richard and Anne his wife 'cost more then foure hundred markes for the guilding.' Of Henry V and his Queen he writes :

Henry the fift with a royall image of silver and guilt, which Katherine his wife caused to bee laid upon him, but the head of this image being of massie siluer is broken off, and conuayed away with the plates of siluer and guilte that couered his body.³

It was the work of Henry VI to raise a monument to his mother in the old Lady Chapel ; but, as Stow writes,

her corps being taken up in the raign of Henry the 7. when a new foundation was to be laid, she was neuer since buried, but remayneth aboue ground in a coffin of boordes behinde the East end of the Presbyterie.⁴

¹ 1543, Hardyng's *Chronicle*, Ellis's ed., p. 357.

² *Ibid.* chap. ccxj., p. 372.

³ Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 463.

⁴ *Ibid.*

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Here two centuries later the dead body of Henry V's Katherine—the Kate whose wooing we know so well in Shakespeare—was profaned by the lips of Samuel Pepys, 'Clerk of the King's Ships,' who thus describes his visit to the tombs :

Here we did see, by particular favour, the body of Queen Katherine of Valois and I had the upper part of her body in my hands, and I did kiss her mouth, reflecting upon it that I did kiss a queene, and that this was my birthday, thirty-six years old.¹

The following epitaph was written for Henry VII :

He died, and in memorial of his name,
Built that faire Chappell, where he now takes rest.
A rich foundation of a curious frame
The fairest monument left unsupprest.
O strew his hearse with roses red and white,
For he both stemmes did in one bed unite.²

Queen Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry VII, who died in 1503, had a ceremonious and more than usually prolonged funeral at the Abbey. The following is an extract from a contemporary MS. The procession started from the Tower :

From Mark lane to Temple bar by estimation was beyond iiij or v thousand torches set all the street along of the Parish Churches in their best manner with Crosses pressions and singing antames and orasons envyroned the Corps. At fanchers were set xxxvij Virgins all in white linnen having Chaplets of white and grene eürch houlding a brening tap of wax.

The procession and ceremony at the Abbey lasted two days. There were four or more masses said ; intervals were allowed for rest and refreshment, and ' there was a great dole of groates to every man and woman.'³

¹ *Diary*, Feb. 23, 1668–9. In recent times the body has been reverently interred.

² 1599. T. Storer, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, D.

³ *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1809, vol. iv. p. 654.

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The following inscription, placed in the time of Charles II, has a unique interest :

Edward the Fifth King of England and Richard his brother Duke of York, their bodies being lately found by undoubted circumstances on the 17th day of July 1674, after 190 years obscurity . . . under the steps that go up to the Chapel belonging to the White Tower called Cesar's Chapel.¹

Henry VIII was buried at Windsor, and only one of his six wives received the honour of burial in the Abbey, and a small stone simply marked A. C. was the only notification of the place of interment.² Fuller writes :

She [Anne of Cleves] returned no more into her own Countrey, but living and dying anno 1557 in England, was buried in Westminster Church, in a tomb not yet finished ; none other of King Henry's wives having any, and this Anne but half a monument.³

The funeral of Queen Mary was a quiet one. Fuller tells us that :

Her body was entered in the Chappell of King Henry the Seventh, in the Isle on the north-side thereof . . . White, Bishop of Winchester, preached the sermon . . . his text ' A living dog is better than a dead Lion.' One not present at the place might easily tell whom he made the Lion and whom the dog. Indeed he strawed all the flowers of his Rhetorique on Queen Mary deceased leaving not so much as the stalkes to scatter on her surviving sister.⁴

But only ten days after an elaborate ceremony took place as a memorial of the death of one of the greatest monarchs in Europe, the Emperor Charles V :

A solemn obsequy was kept for him in the wonted form,—a rich hearse being set up for him in the Church of Westminster, magnificently covered

¹ Strype's edit. of Stow, Bk. VI, chap. i., p. 18.

² See Keepe's *Monumenta*.

³ *Church History* (1655), Bk. V, p. 230.

⁴ *Ibid.* Bk. VIII, p. 42.

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with a pall of gold, his own Ambassador serving as the principal mourner and all the great Lords and officers about the Court attending.¹

The body of Mary, Queen of Scots, after lying for twenty years in the Choir of Peterborough Cathedral, was by King James her son

solemnly removed to Westminster where on the south side of the Chappel of King Henry the Seventh he erected a stately monument to her memory.

Referring to the long epitaph in Latin, Fuller remarks that he

cannot but commend the Piety of her son, who will not believe all the praise of his mother.²

The cost of the translation of the body of the dead Queen from Peterborough to Westminster is given in the Records of the Court of Exchequer :

The sum of 178*l.* 19*s* 10*d* was paid out of the Exchequer to the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield for disbursements in removing of the body of his Majesty's late dear Mother from Peterborough to the Collegiate Church of S. Peter at Westminster to be there interred. 3 Nov. 1612.³

For Queen Elizabeth's burial we quote Baker's 'Chronicle' :

Her body was embalmed, wrapped in lead and brought to Whitehall from whence . . . in great solemnity it was carried into the Collegiate Church of S. Peter . . . and there interred in the Vault of her Grandfather, K. Henry the Seventh in his magnificent Chappell, where our renowned Sovereign K. James hath built her a Princely monument inscribed with Epitaphs to her eternall glory.⁴

The Venetian Ambassador, who was present, wrote :

The coffin will lie for a month under a Catafalque and in it the Queen's effigy carved in wood and coloured so faithfully that she seems alive.⁵

¹ Heylyn, *Ecclesia Restaurata* (1661), ed. 1849, ii. 273.

² 1655. Fuller's *Church History*, Book IX, 181.

³ *Pell Records, James I.*

⁴ (1643), p. 119.

⁵ *Cal. of State Papers, Venetian.*

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Sixty years later another royal Elizabeth, also, but fitfully, a Queen, found here a resting-place. John Evelyn has the following entry in his Diary :

This night was buried in Westminster Abbey the Queene of Bohemia after all her sorrows and afflictions being come to die in the arms of her nephew the King.¹

This was Elizabeth, daughter of James I. Her will has been preserved :

Nous avons voulu faire cette nostre disposition et derniere volonté et recommandent nostre ame à nostre unique Sauveur Jesus Christ et nostre corps pour estre enterré parmy nos ancestres dans l'Eglise de Westminster au prez de feu nostre frere aîné le Prince Henry.²

On Prince Henry, who died in 1612, the same year his sister was betrothed, every poet of the day wrote a threnody. 'Of whose worth England seemeth unworthy' was Camden's estimate of the Prince. Of the many epitaphs written, this was Camden's choice :

Reader, wonder think it none,
Though I speak, and am a stone ;
Here is shrin'd cœlestial dust,
And I keep it but in trust.

Within this marble casket lies
A matchless jewel of rich prize,
Whom nature, in the world's disdain,
But shew'd and then put up again.³

Camden himself, addressing Michael Drayton's monument, says :

Do, pious marble, let thy Readers know
What they and what their children owe
To Drayton's name.⁴

¹ *Diary*, Feb. 17, 1661-2.

² Printed by Camden Society, No. 83.

³ Camden's *Remains*, 'On Epitaphs.'

⁴ *Ibid.*

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Drayton's epitaph reads :

Michael Draiton, a memorable Poet of this Age, exchanged his Laurel for a Crown of glory, 1631.

Camden's own time came, and 'that learned antiquary is depicted "leaning on a book on whose leaves are insculped *Britannia*."'

The quaintly brief epitaph on Ben Jonson, which marks the resting-place of the greatest poet of the day after Shakespeare, was not meant to suffice as a permanent memorial. Aubrey relates that Sir John Young, chancing to pass the spot which had not yet been distinguished by a monument, gave one of the workmen eighteenpence to cut the words 'O rare Ben Jonson,' which have since remained and attained a famous reputation.¹ Many will think that the simple sincerity of this impromptu is better than a lengthy panegyric ; yet some will perhaps prefer Herrick's epitaph :

Here lies Jonson with the rest
Of the Poets ; but the best.
Reader, would'st thou more have known ?
Ask his story, not this stone ;
That will speak what this can't tell,
Of his glory. So farewell !²

Stow has this note on Chaucer's resting-place :

Buried at Westminster Geffrey Chaucer the most famous Poet of England . . . in the Cloysters 1400 but since Nicholas Brigham Gentleman rayed a monument for him in the South Crosse Ile of the Church.³

Henry Keepe, whose 'Monumenta Westmonasteriensia' has been already several times quoted, and should be referred to for a complete account of the monuments and epitaphs, says

¹ See Gifford's *Memoirs of Ben Jonson*.

² *Hesperides* (1648).

³ *Survey* (1603), pp. 464-5.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

of Spenser's monument that it was 'much defaced.' He was evidently not in sympathy with the author of 'The Faerie Queene.' His comment is :

A sweet and luxurious fancy . . . pity it was such true poetry should not have been employed in as true a subject.

But of Michael Drayton he says that he

rectified the faults committed by Spencer in applying his genius to the History and Antiquities of his own Nation ;

and then he goes on to say :

The first and last best poets of the English nation—Geoffrey Chaucer and Abraham Cowley, the one being the sun just rising, 'hard to be imitated but never equalled'—

an exaggerated estimate of Cowley, when one thinks of the 267 years that intervened between the deaths of the two poets, and of the great names that adorned the early seventeenth century. Evelyn was another of Cowley's admirers. 'That incomparable poet and virtuous man' was his encomium. He notes in his diary :

Went to Mr. Cowley's funeral whose corpse lay at Wallingford House and was thence conveyed to Westminster Abbey.¹

A week later Samuel Pepys, whose remarks on books and authors often reveal much ineptitude, notes :

Cowley is dead, who it seems was a mighty civil, serious man, which I did not know before.

James Heath, a strong hater of Oliver Cromwell, describes in his 'Flagellum' how the waxen effigy of the late Lord Protector was enshrined in the Abbey :

The effigies in this manner being brought to the West-Gate of the Abbey-Church of Westminster, it was taken from the Chariot by ten

¹ Aug. 3, 1667.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

gentlemen who carried it to the east end of the Church and there placed the picture in a most magnificent structure built in the same form as one . . . for King James, but much more stately.¹

There were, probably, in early times, many burials in the Abbey of persons who had no claim to such honourable distinction. In the reign of James I there is an entry in the State Papers (April 9, 1616) shewing the resentment caused by what was considered, whether rightly or wrongly, an improper burial. With regard to the

pompous funeral of Sir John Grimes, a favorite of Sir Geo. Villiers, in Westminster Abbey, the Butchers of King S^t. buried a dog in Tothill Fields in ridicule of the ceremony, saying the soul of a dog was as good as that of a Scot. Several of them apprehended and will be whipped.²

The Register of deaths and burials in the Abbey dating from the early part of the seventeenth century has been printed by the Harleian Society. The records are brief and simple in the extreme. A king, except that he possessed a name and a title, gets barely more notice than an unnamed infant (and, strange to say, there are several instances of such interments within the Abbey). A few extracts are appended :

Henry Prince of Wales buried Dec. 8, 1612, under his grandmother's monument (Mary Queen of Scots).

1619. May 13. Anne Queene of England dyed March 2, 1618, in a little side Chappell on the North side of K. H. 7th's monument.

Sept. 1. Sir Christ. Hatton at the entrance into S^t. Erasmus Chapel.
1623. William Cambden, Clarens : on the south side of the broad aisle.

¹ *Flagellum* (1663), p. 210.

² *State Papers, Domestic, James I* (vol. 86). At a later time the writer of the *Rump Songs* satirised the burial of Admiral Richard Deane, a distinguished Parliamentary General :

' They interr'd him in triumph . . .
In the famous Chappel of Henry the Seven
But his soul is scarce gone the right way to Heaven.'

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

1625. James King of Great Brittain &c. (*sic*) was buried May 5 in King Henry the 7ths Vault.
1660. The Princess Royal Mary, the King's eldest sister, mother to the Prince of Orange, on the south side of K. Henry 7th Chapell.
- 1661-2. Feb. 17. The Queen of Bohemia, daughter to K. James, in a vault by her brother Prince Henry.
1667. Aug. 3. Mr. Cowly, a famous Poet ; near Mr. Chaucer's monument.
1668. Sir W^m. Davenant near the Vestry Door.
- 1668-9. Sir John Denham near Mr. Chaucer's monument.

The Registrar made a solitary exception in giving to Abraham Cowley a qualification not even accorded to Kings or Queens.

(viii)

The
Cloisters

The cloisters were on the south side of the church. Camden writes :

If at any time you go through Westminster Cloyster into the Deans yard, you shall see the King and Pilgrim cut in stone over the gate.¹

According to Camden, the story was that Edward the Confessor gave a ring to an aged Pilgrim (who turned out to be S. John the Evangelist), who afterwards returned the ring and prophesied the day of the King's death. This happened at Havering in Essex, and the incident gave the place its name.

William Lilly made the cloisters the scene of one of his astrological exploits. He writes :

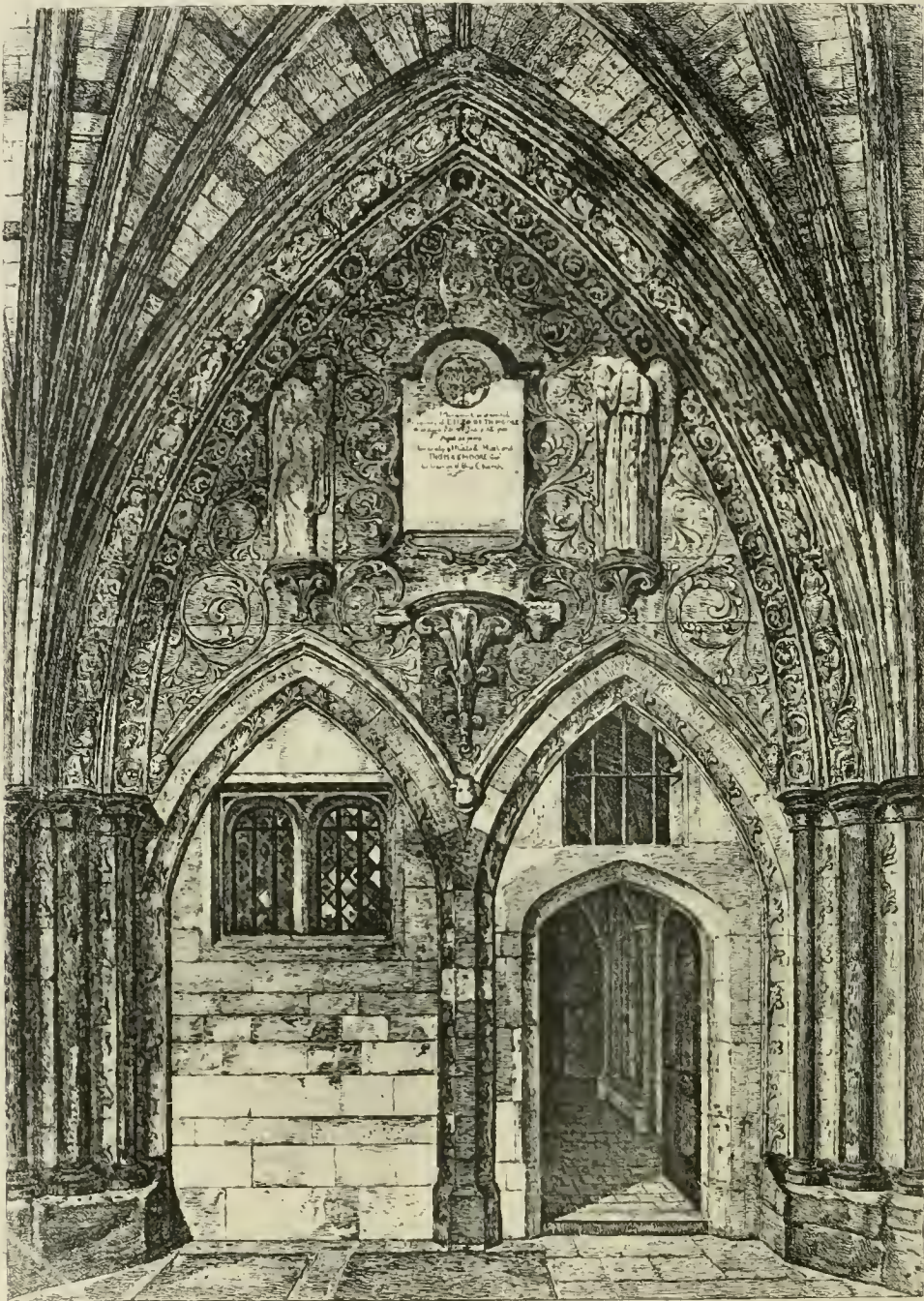
One Winter's night Davy Ramsey, myself and Scott enter'd the Cloysters ; we play'd the hazel-rod . . . upon the West-side of the Cloysters, the rods turned one over another, an argument that Treasure was there.²

Adjoining and (so Norden tells us) annexed to the wall of the church,

the Deane of Westminster hath his mansion howse whereunto adjoyneth

¹ *Remains concerning Britain* (1605) (ed. 1870, p. 195).

² *Autobiography of William Lilly the Astrologer* (c. 1660) (ed. 1715, p. 33).



Tit. 1. Henry and Eliza, 1. to the actual Chapter House belonging to Westminster Abbey,
Subscribed with and directed by Sir Charles Knollys 3rd Westminster, Jan^y 1702

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. . . lardge lodgings, pleasaunt walkes, and manie auncient buyldinges ;¹

and Howell writes in his *Letters* :

Passing lately by the cloisters of Westminster, I stepped up to the library that Archbishop Williams erected there.²

The Dean must have had an anxious time during the Civil War. We read in a Tract :

What a distraction was amongst the rabble in the uproare at Westminster when the Bishop of Yorke's servants attending about the Abby Church to defend the same and the Deanes House belonging to his Lordship, were forced to come forth with weapons.³

Entered from the Cloisters was the Chapter House, built in 1250. Parliament was held here up to the middle of the sixteenth century. Pennant describes it as in a state of ruin, but it has been completely restored.

A period of seventeen years elapsed before the churches were able to resume their accustomed services in peace, and the old liturgy and ceremonies were often unfamiliar. The following give Samuel Pepys' experience in 1660 :

July 1. In the afternoon to the Abby, where a good sermon by a stranger but no Common Prayer yet.

Oct. 4. To Westminster Abby where we saw Dr. Frewen translated to the Archbishoprick of York. Here I saw the Bishops . . . all in their habits. But Lord ! at their going out how the people did most of them look upon them as strange creatures.

Nov. 4. I went to the Abby, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a Cathedral.

¹ Norden, *Notes on London and Westminster* (1592).

² *Familiar Letters*, Sect. viii. 30. He alludes to John Williams, Archbishop of York, who died in 1650.

³ Tract, *The Distractions of our Times* (1643), p. 4. Two years earlier than this (so we read in Royston's *Life of Charles I*) the mob 'set upon the . . . Abbey Church, where forcing open the doors they brake down the organs, spoiled all the vestments and ornaments of the Worship.'

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

As to Archbishop Williams' library, alluded to by Howell, the following quotation from a letter of John Selden shews that it was a valuable one :

There is in Westminster Library the Talmud of Babylon in divers great volumes. If it be a thing to be obtained, I would beseech you to borrow them . . . and to get me the use of them.¹

Jerusalem Chamber

The Jerusalem Chamber appears to have been in the Abbot's House : ' Part of the Abbot's lodgings and built by Littlington,' Pennant says. Sir Richard Baker thus notes the death of Henry IV :

In the 46th yeare of his age . . . he tooke upon him the Crusade . . . but being at his prayers at S. Edwards Shrine he was suddenly taken with an apoplexie and removed to the Abbot of Westminster's house . . . being told he was in a Chamber called Jerusalem, Well then (said he), Lord have mercy upon me, for this is the Jerusalem where a Soothsayer told me I should dye.²

More familiar, perhaps, are Shakespeare's words :

But beare me to that Chamber, there Ile lye,
In that Jerusalem shall Harry dye.³

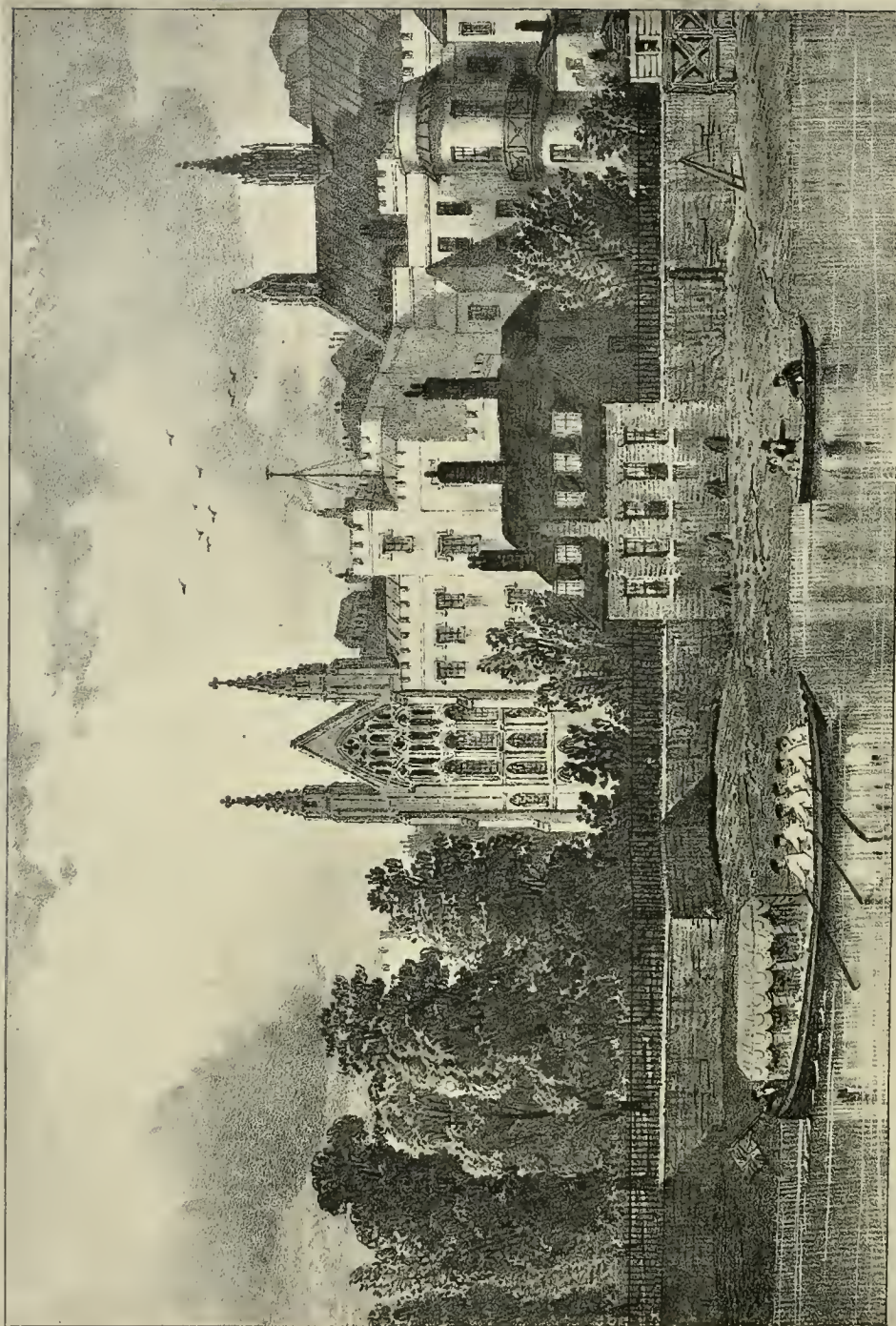
The Abbot's house seemed to be known as 'Cheynegates.' On the accession of Henry VII, Elizabeth Wydville, the widowed Queen of Edward IV, who had taken sanctuary here, was granted a lease of the house for forty years at a rent of 10*l*. The Queen was to keep the house in repair 'at her proper costes and charge,' and particularly she was to 'voide clense repaire and make the gutter goyng from the kechen of the same as often as shall be necessary and behovefull.'⁴

¹ John Selden to Sir Robert Cotton, July 4, 1629 (Camden Soc.).

² Baker's *Chronicle*, *Henry IV* (1643), p. 43.

³ 2 *Henry IV*, IV, iv.

⁴ *Notes and Documents Westminster Abbey*, vol. 4.



Drawn by Jas Shury & Son.

ST STEPHENS CHAPEL, SPEAKER'S HOUSE, &c.
From the River — as before the Fire on Oct. 16th 1834.

On Stone by A. Picken.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The following, by the biographer of Dr. Peter Heylyn the historian, who was sub-Dean, is worth quoting as evidence that, at all events to scholars, the Abbey afforded something of inspiration :

A Prebendship in the Collegiate Church of Westminster . . . fell void (1631) which the King bestowed upon Mr. Heylyn. . . . So that he is now entered into one of the fairest preferments that hath all the accomodation and pleasures which a scholar's heart can wish :—a learned society ; a well-furnished library ; a magnificent Church, that hath an excellent quire in it for a chorus of heavenly voices—the one enough to stir up the coldest heart to devotion and the other to the veneration of antiquity.¹

(jx)

Although it was not attached to the Abbey, but an appanage of the old Palace, a few references to S. Stephen's Chapel will not be out of place. Stow says :

Of old time founded by King Stephen . . . new builded by King Edward the third of a farre more curious workemanship ;

and Weever confirms this :

His [Edward III's] workes of Pietie were great and many as . . . the building of Saint Stephens Chappell at Westminster with the endowment of three hundred pounds per annum.²

Selden alludes to the singing :

'Twas the old way when the King of England had his House, there were Canons to sing Service in his Chappell ; so at Westminster in St. Stephen's Chappell . . . from which Canons the street called Canon-row has its name because they liv'd there.³

¹ John Barnard, *Life of Peter Heylyn* (1683) (ed. 1849, I, lxxx.).

² Weever, *Anc. Fun. Monuments* (1631), p. 467. The Patent Rolls 22 Edw. III record the appointment of a Dean and 12 Canons secular (*Calendar*, p. 147).

³ J. Selden, *Table Talk*, c. 1654 (ed. Arber, p. 61).

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

Dr. Heylyn alludes to spoliation in the second year of Edward VI :

In the first place . . . came in the free-chapel of S. Stephens originally founded in the Palace of Westminster and reckoned for the Chapel-royal of the Court of England . . . as for the Chapel itself, together with a cloister of curious workmanship built by John Chambers one of the King's physicians and the last master of the same, they are still standing as they were : the Chapel having been since fitted and employed for a House of Commons in all times of Parliament.¹

The chapel was destroyed by fire in 1831 and the beautiful crypt is all that is now left, and is too well known to need description.

Old drawings depict the chapel as rebuilt by Edward III as a Gothic building of great beauty, a beauty sadly marred by alterations and enlargement to give accommodation needed by the members when it was used for the meeting of Parliament. A view taken from the river shews the gable end of the chapel with a large window in the Perpendicular style. On either side are two small crocketed spires.²

S. Mary de
la Pewe

Near to S. Stephen's Chapel was the Chapel of ' St. Mary de la Pewe ' or ' Our Lady of the Pew. ' In the *Black Book of Lincoln's Inn* we find this reference : ³

Shortly after the seid newe Sergeauntes went allso to Westminster Hall and from thens to o^r Lady of Pewe's Chappell and then came agen into Westminster Halle.

This is Stow's notice of it :

One other smaller Chappell called our Lady of the Piew, to the which Lady great offerings used to be made. I have read that Richard the 2

¹ *Ecclesia Restaurata* [1661], 1849, i. 123.

² This may be seen in Papworth's *Views of London*, 1816.

³ 1546 (Death of Hen. VIII), i. 279.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

after the overthrow of Wat Tilar . . . went to Westminster and . . . made his offering in this Chappell.¹

It is said that Henry VIII used the chapel and had his pew.

It is on record that the chapel was burnt in 1534 and 're-edified' in the reigns of Edward VI and Queen Mary. We are told also that in early times it was connected with Bethlehem Hospital, and that there was a house for lunatics adjacent. The name Pew suggests that it was used as the King's private chapel and that he had his 'pew' there.²

On the west-south-west side of the Abbey towers stood in ancient times the Chapel of S. Anne. The Lady Margaret, mother to King Henry VII, erected on the site an alms-house for poor women, and the place was called the 'Eleemosinary or Almory,' the alms collected at the Abbey being there distributed to the poor. Ben Jonson alludes to it as if it were a place for the circulation of gossip.

The
Almories

All the news of Tuttle-street
And both the Alm'ries.³

It was here that in about the year 1471 Abbot Islip erected 'the first Presse of Book Printing that ever was in England.' It was here that William Caxton, who was the first to introduce into England the new art of printing from movable type, first started his work. Caxton's advertisement has fortunately been preserved as it was issued 1477-80 :

If it plesse any man spirituel or temporel to bye any pyes of two and thre comemoraciōs of Salisburi vse enpryntid after the forme of this presēt letter which ben wel and truly correct, late hym come to Westmonester in to the almonesry at the reed pale and he shal haue them good chepe.⁴

¹ *Survey* (1603), p. 475.

² See note in Kingsford's ed. of Stow.

³ 1631. *Staple of News*, III, ij. Tothill Street is still in evidence.

⁴ Reprinted in Blades' *Life of Caxton*.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

This 'Sarum Use' was not the first book printed in England by Caxton. He had already issued 'The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers,' besides those previously printed at Bruges and Cologne. It is said that between 1477 and 1491 he produced nearly eighty books from this press.¹

S. Mary
Magdalen

Another small chapel adjacent was that dedicated to S. Mary Magdalen. The locality was called Petty France. When Henry VIII made the abbey the seat of a bishopric the chapel was given to the dean and chapter of the cathedral, but was transferred by Queen Elizabeth to the dean and chapter of what then began to be called the Collegiate Church of St. Peter.

S. Mary
Rouncival

1544

The Conventual Hospital of S. Mary Rouncival was not far from Charing Cross and close to the river. It was founded by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, in the reign of Henry III, and called S. Mary's Cell, being a cell to the Priory of Rouncival in Navarre. It was rebuilt by Edward IV, who founded a fraternity, which was suppressed in 1544 by Henry VIII. In the time of Edward VI it appeared to be in possession of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton. The chapel remained and apparently was in use. A plate by Wyngaerde (early sixteenth century) shews a Gothic chapel by the waterside. The Rouncival Cross was crozier-shaped.²

(x)

S. Mar-
garet's,
West-
minster

S. Margaret's, Westminster, may appropriately be taken with the Abbey, inasmuch as in early years it formed an integral part of the larger buildings, being, as Stow calls it, in the 'South Isle,' meaning what we term the South Transept.

He [Edward the Confessor] caused the Parish Church of S. Margaret to be newly builded without the Abby Church of Westminster for the

¹ *Nat. Dict. of Biog.*

² See an account of the Hospital and Chapel by J. Galloway.

S. MARGARET'S AND THE CHAPELS

ease and commodity of the Monks, because before that time the parrish Church stood within the old Abby Church in the South Isle, somewhat to their annoyance.¹

The church was rebuilt in the reign of Edward I :

The Marchants of the Staple and parishioners of Westminster builded it all of new, the great chancel excepted, which was builded by the abbot of Westminster,² and this remaineth now a fayre parish Church.³

According to Pennant there was another rebuilding in the reign of Edward IV.⁴ In the reign of Edward VI the church was in danger. It was alleged that among his many misdeeds the Protector Somerset had the design of destroying S. Margaret's. Sir John Hayward writes :

It is constantly affirmed that for the same purpose [*i.e.* the erection of Somerset House] hee intended to pull downe the Church of Saint Margaret in Westminster, and that the standing thereof was preserved only by his fall.⁵

The fine east window still preserved was made by order of the magistrates of Dort and intended as a present for Henry VII, and probably would have been placed in the chapel that bears his name had not he died before it was finished. It remained until the Dissolution in the private chapel of the Abbot of Waltham at Copthall, and after many vicissitudes eventually became part of the estate of General Monk, but it was not till 1758 that the parish of Westminster became the owners at a

¹ 1598. Stow's *Survey* (1603), p. 460. Some say the situation was in the Cloisters.

² Abbot Islip, early sixteenth century.

³ Stow, *op. cit.* (1603), p. 466.

⁴ Accounts vary as to this rebuilding, but it seems only reasonable to put the date of the last church late in the fifteenth century. H. Keepe writes in *West-monasteriensia* that when Edward the Confessor moved it 'the Church stood in the Cloysters of the old Abby.' Also that the new church was pulled down and rebuilt by Henry III, 1220.

⁵ *Life of Edward VI* (1636), p. 205.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

price of 400 guineas.¹ Of the many figures in the window, two are said to be portraits of the young Prince Arthur and his wife Katherine of Aragon.

It was in James I's time that St. Margaret's became the official church of the House of Commons and a special preacher was appointed. The Gunpowder Plot had caused a popish scare. It was thought that some of the members of the Commons might have the taint of Rome. Camden writes :

The Members of the House of Commons take the Sacrement at St. Margaret's that a Discovery might be made of those who were inclined to the Popish Religion, but none refused it. April 7, 1614.²

It would seem that the Abbey had been passed over 'for fear of Copes and Wafer cakes'—so we note in the *State Papers* (April 14, 1614). In older days it had been rich in movable possessions. An inventory taken at the Dissolution (c. 1539) shews a large and costly collection of church ornaments and vestments. Here are two items :

A payre of great Senses of sylvergilte, one of them having a botomme of yron within it, weynge all together cclxvj oz.

V. Copys of nedyll worke, one of them callede Seynte Peter's Cope, with crimson satten. The other callede the cope with the aungelles of perle and the iij others callede the Jessys with ij tunycles.³

The two following quotations mark the dominance of the Puritan party in the early forties of the seventeenth century :

That Mr. Tuckney of Boston be desired to preach at Saint Margaret's Westminster on Friday next to open the Covenant and to tender it to

¹ See Pennant's *London*. Pennant says the portraits are Henry VI and his Queen, but this must be an error. See Dr. Thos. Wilson, *Ornaments of Churches considered*. The churchwardens were much condemned by the parishioners, who thought the window idolatrous.

² a. 1623. *Annals, King James I.*

³ Printed in *Lond. and Middlesex Archæological Transactions*.

S. MARGARET'S AND THE CHAPELS

such officers and gentlemen as shall voluntarily come to receive the same.¹

Dr. J. Lightfoot has this entry in his *Journal*, Sept. 25, 1643 :

Mr. Nye being in the pulpit . . . read the Covenant, and at every clause of it the House of Commons and we of the Assembly lift up our hands and gave our consent thereby to it and then went all into the Chancel and subscribed our hands.²

The following is from a Tract called *A Three-fold Discourse*.³ The speaker is John Heyden, the late cobbler of Houndsditch, a professed Brownist :

I was half a yeere since at Annes within Aldersgate and once a fortnight agoe at Margets in Westminster . . . They were built by the Papists and smell of superstition to this day, for name any Church about the Citie that was built in time of the gospel, Cree Church excepted, and that by Tuttle St. in Westminster not yet execrated, as they call it.

At the Restoration there was a turning of tables, and no doubt retaliation led to some injustice. The following refers to Hugh Peters, who was executed at Charing Cross in 1660 :

He once preached a sermon at St. Margaret's, Westminster, immediately after the members were secluded . . . the words of his text 'Not this man but Barabbas.' To whom he compared his late Majesty, inciting his auditory to kill the King.⁴

According, however, to the report of the trial, he asserted his innocence :

Here Mr. Peters, as in all the rest, out-faced and denied all.⁵

¹ *A Perfect Diurnall of Parliament* (1643), No. 14.

² *Journal of the Assembly of Divines*. Works, 1824, vol. xiii. p. 15.

³ 1642. A. 3.

⁴ *Tales and Jestes of Mr. Hugh Peters* (1660), lvii.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 12.

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Here is a remarkable case of a burning in the reign of Queen Mary :

The xiiij day of Aprill in Anno 1555 beyng Ester day, a certain desperat person named William Flower, with a wod knyfe wounded a priest as he was ministrynge the sacrement to the people in S. Margaret's Church . . . for the whiche offence the said William Flower was burned . . . in Saint Margaret's Church yarde.¹

The church or churchyard holds the remains of many famous dead. Sir Walter Raleigh was beheaded in New Palace Yard and his body buried under the high altar.² Caxton was a parishioner and worked his press hard by and was here buried, as were also Skelton the Poet Laureate, and Thomas Southerne the poet, who lived in Tothill Fields.

After the Restoration the churchyard was the scene of a burial, or rather reinterment, on a large scale. The bodies of a large number of persons who were considered to have been improperly honoured by burial in the Abbey were removed and reburied in a large pit. The body of Thomas May, the historian of the Parliament and a poet and dramatist of some repute, was one of these. The inscription on his monument in the Abbey (near Sir William Davenant's) described him as 'Lucanus alter plus quam Romanus Historicus fidus.' The body of Admiral Blake was another so dishonoured and reburied.

Milton's second marriage took place here. This is the entry in the Register, 1656 :

John Milton of this Parish Esq. and M^{rs} Katherin Woodcocke of the parish of Aldermanbury Spinster.

¹ Stow, *Englyshe Chron.* (1565), fol. 233.

² It was at a much later date that a tablet was placed to his memory. 'Should you reflect on his errors Remember his many virtues and that he was a mortal.'

S. MARGARET'S AND THE CHAPELS

We append, in conclusion, a few extracts from the accounts of the overseers or collectors of the parish.¹

Received

1569. Of a bargeman for sellynge wodge on the Saboath daie	xijd.
1570. Fforfets for Sundays servyce John Henes for one quart pot	ijd.
Mr. Harye dudle for his lisenche for etynge of fleshe . . .	vjs. viijd.
1572. From . . . The Lord Burleighe vj score peces of beiffe &c. . . . for the reliefe of the poore	viij <i>li</i> . iijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
1574. John Gravener for a fyne . . . for selling of strong ale at ijd. the quart	iijs.

Paid

1568. To John Standleye for helynge of Thomas Gybbonses leegge	iijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
1578. To bye fflax to sett the poore awoorke	x <i>li</i> .
1590. To Turpyn for strawe to lodge a poore man in his hogstye	iiij <i>d</i> .

In the last year of Queen Mary we find :

Paid for the skowringe of the holly water Stock, the Censor and iij payre of Candelsticks	vj <i>d</i> .
---	---------------

But in the first year of Queen Elizabeth

takyng down the Hollywater Stock.

On one of the occasions of the visit of the Commons we read :

Received of the Right Honourable the Commons House of Parliament when they took the Communion in the parish church on the 3rd day of July 1618 xxxv*ijli*. vs. viij*d*.

Paid to Dr. Bargrave for preaching and attending the Parliament Communion 1618 x*li*.

In Puritan times the monumental brasses were sold as old metal :

1644. Rec^d for xxix pounds of fine brass at iiij*d*. a pound and 96

¹ Brit. Mus. 10349, i. 21.

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pound of course brasse at iij^d. a pound taken off from sundrie Tombe-
stones in the Church xxxiijs. vjd.¹

The earliest of the church accounts give evidence of the payment of rent or licence for pews in pre-Reformation times. Specimens are appended as being of interest though they do not belong to the period under review :

1461. Item rec. de Roberto Rowe pro i pua pro uxore ejus iij^s.

1497. Item of maister haydon for licence to sette ij pewes in the Church
for himself and his wife ij^s ;

and in 1500 the 'goodman of the george' paid for his part of
a pew 'xvj^d.'²

¹ See Canon H. F. Westlake, *St. Margaret's*.

² Apropos of payments for seats in the reign of Charles II, 'proposals were offered to the House of Commons towards carrying on the War with France ; to tax all stalls and seats in Churches and Chapels from 40s. for Archbishops' stalls to 1s. for ordinary seats, quarterly.' See *Calendar of State Papers*, 1666, vol. 187. See Addenda.

PARISH CHURCHES ;
CHURCHES AND CHAPELS ATTACHED OR
FORMERLY ATTACHED TO RELIGIOUS
HOUSES ; AND ROYAL CHAPELS

*' The best feeling, the highest facul-
ties, the greatest wealth, should be
displayed and exercised in the patri-
monial palaces of every family
united. For such are Churches,
both to the rich and poor '*

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

RICHARD GRAFTON, writing in 1572, says :

The parishe Churches in London and adjoyning are in number CXIX besyde the Cathedrall Churches of Paules, Westminster, the Temple Church and the Church in the Rolles in Chancery Lane.¹

But John Stow, in his 'Survey of London' twenty-six years later, gives the number in the Cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark and near vicinity as 123,² and adds :

Every parish having his Parson or Vicar at the least, learned men for the most part, and sufficient Preachers to instruct the people.

A rather cautious appreciation of the clergy at the time. Vischer's View of London, 1616, shews most of the spires and towers from the east to the Savoy. S. Dunstan's in the East and S. Laurence Pountney appear the loftiest, though this may be the effect of the point of view ; Bow Church having a square tower with four pinnacles and a very short spire above. The Cathedral, as in all old pictures, dominates the scene with the lofty tower and transepts dividing the building midway. Of these 123 churches standing at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, in thirty-four of which were erected monuments to the great Queen, by far the greater number were destroyed in the Fire. Many of those so destroyed were not rebuilt. The seventeenth century was not a church-building age : the ascendancy of Puritanism

¹ *A Little Treatise* (1572).

² Arnold's *Chronicle* (c. 1502) gives 118.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

and the rise of the Nonconformist sects were factors tending to diminish the call for new churches. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that the munificence of pious benefactors flowed into other channels, and it is a fair assumption that on the accession of Queen Anne there were fewer churches in London than there were at the time of the death of Queen Elizabeth.

Allusions to the churches in sixteenth and seventeenth century literature are fairly frequent, but they are not generally of a character to satisfy the lover of mediaeval architecture or the ecclesiologist. The efforts of the Tudor and Jacobean architects were all in the direction of stately palaces or royally sumptuous mansions for the great men of the time. The feeling of reverence for the old Gothic buildings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was lost : the materials of the old Priory of St. John of Jerusalem were used for the erection of Somerset House. Still, the allusions to churches by the writers of the Elizabethan and Stuart periods, trivial as they often are, serve to throw some side-lights on the state of the Church and the history of the time, and may therefore be cited without apology.

Our attention is naturally first drawn to the few churches that escaped the Fire, and especially to those which are still standing and retain, either entirely or in part, their ancient character, even though much restored. These are S. Bartholomew the Great ; the Temple Church ; S. Helen's ; All Hallows Barking ; S. Olave, Hart Street ; S. Giles, Cripplegate ; S. Peter's in the Tower ; the Church of the Augustine Friars ; S. Ethelburga ; S. Ethelreda, Ely Place ; the Savoy Chapel ; S. Margaret, Westminster ; S. Mary Overie, Southwark ; S. Andrew Under-shaft ; S. Katherine Cree.

S. Margaret's, Westminster, has already been treated with Westminster Abbey, to which it has an affinity apart from its contiguity which seems to warrant this course. It has not been found possible to adopt a perfectly orderly sequence as regards

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

the locality of the churches mentioned, and the reader is asked to pardon any inconvenience this erratic course may cause him. The scheme of progression is, however, in the main from east to west, taking in the present chapter the churches eastward of S. Paul's, and in the next chapter those to the north and west, and concluding with a few of the most important of those lying on the south side of the river and in the near outskirts.

(i)

In Tower Street near to the Tower of London stood, and still stands, the ancient church dedicated to S. Mary and All Saints, and better known as All Hallows Barking. The second name arises from the fact of the church's association with the Convent of Barking in Essex founded by Erkenwald, Bishop of London, at the end of the seventh century, which convent had rights over the site of All Hallows long before the church was built. 'Berkyngchurch by the Tower' was another variation in familiar nomenclature. There was an early church on the site before the Norman Conquest, and a Norman church, the predecessor of the present one, built at the close of the eleventh century. The nave of the church as we now see it has four bays and is Early English of the thirteenth century, but the circular columns are said to have belonged either wholly or in part to the Norman church. The choir of three bays, the same height as the nave, is fourteenth century Gothic and much more elaborate and richer in mouldings than the nave. The east window is 'decorated,' and in the style of a somewhat earlier period. The outer walls and the clerestory are late Gothic, having been rebuilt in the fifteenth century, the windows debased, with flat or four-centred arches. There was a tower and steeple at the south-west corner, as may be seen in some old maps.¹ This disappeared in 1649 at the time the

All
Hallows
Barking

¹ e.g. Visscher, 1616.

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church was damaged by an explosion of gunpowder. A tower of brickwork, not in keeping with the church, was built later,¹ but not on the site of the old tower, and still stands. In modern times a fine porch, with priest's chamber over, has been added on the north side, by which the church is entered from a new street and faces Mark Lane Station.

In the interior the carved woodwork, said to be by Grinling Gibbons, is noticeable, especially the cover of the font. The hammered ironwork seen in the pulpit rail and the sword-stands used on the visit of the Lord Mayor are good specimens of this work. Fixed to a pillar behind the pulpit is a beautiful iron bracket, foliated in design, and which it would seem commonplace to call a hat-peg, although such was its useful purpose. The pulpit erected in 1638 has a carved hexagonal sound-board with the same inscription on each of the six sides. 'The artist' (to quote a former vicar of this church²) 'found one good text and he keeps to it. With quaint abbreviations and a mixture of Greek characters with the Roman, he has written up $\chi\pi\mu$ $\pi\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\mu$ $\kappa\rho\upsilon\varsigma\iota\phi\iota\chi\upsilon\mu$ ' (*Christum prædicam crucifixum*).

The memorial brasses are numerous and in a better state of preservation than is usual, considering that in many City churches they were torn up and sold for old metal. Those most generally admired are a Flemish brass of 1530, the memorial of Evingar, a brewer, with his wife and children, with the added design of the Virgin bearing the body of the dead Christ. The other, dated 1518, is that of Christopher Rawson with his two successive wives. The husband's effigy has the legend, 'O blessed Trinity, justify us'; the wives', 'Deliver us,' 'Save us.' The oldest brass is that of William Tonge, who died in 1389.³

¹ 1650 according to Strype.

² Dr. Mason, who built the new north porch.

³ See a monograph on the church by Dr. C. R. Davey Biggs, Vicar of SS. Philip and James, Oxford.

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To return to the earlier church, there was on the north side a chapel founded by Richard I (confirmed and augmented by Edward I). The tradition is that Richard's heart was here buried under the high altar, but this is contrary to another account, which affirms that it was buried at Rouen, according to the King's own wish.

In this chapel was a remarkable image of the Virgin erected by Edward I. The story is that before the death of his father, Henry III, he had a vision by which he was directed to cause this image to be erected, and was assured of great blessings provided he fulfilled certain obligations, amongst which were to keep the chapel in repair and to visit it five times a year. This complied with, victory in battle would be his, and the succession to the crown on his father's death. His own lawful heirs, moreover, would be likewise favoured, provided they religiously observed the like covenants.

Edward related all to the Pope's Legate, and assured him he had done as ordered, and that the promises were fulfilled. Thereupon it was ordained that true penitents visiting the chapel, who, out of a truly devout spirit, contributed to the lights, repairs, etc., and who should pray for the soul of King Richard, whose heart was buried under the high altar, should have release of forty days' penance. They were, moreover, enjoined to pray for the souls of all the faithful there buried, and to say the Lord's Prayer and the Salutation in English. The image got to be known as 'Our Lady of Barking,' and pilgrimages to the church were frequent and popular. At a later period John, Earl of Warwick, by permission of his cousin, Edward IV, founded a brotherhood, and 'he gave to the Custos of that fraternity the Priorie of Totyngbecke and the advowson of the Parish Church of Stretham,'¹ and it assumed the name of the King's

¹ 1598. Stow's *Survey* (1603), p. 132. Tooting-Bec Common is still in evidence, and, up to a few years ago, there was a house bearing the name of 'The Priory.'

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Chapel or Chantry 'in Capella beatae Mariae de Barking.' Richard III restored or rebuilt the chapel and founded a college of priests, suppressed in 1548. The site became a garden, and was eventually built on.

In the reign of Edward IV, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester and Constable of the Tower, besides occupying other high positions, founded a guild for a Master and brethren. Tiptoft was a friend of Caxton. As a Yorkist partisan he acquired a character for cruelty and was the prime mover in many executions. He met the like fate himself on the flight of Edward IV, but was not buried in the chantry he had founded.

One other charitable foundation connected with the church should be mentioned. Dugdale ('Monasticon,' ii.) writes that 'King Edward III granted his licence to Robert Denton, Chaplain, to found an Hospital . . . for the habitation of poor Priests and other poor men and women who fall into frenzies and lose their memories.'

The church, indeed, affords memories of many tragic deaths. Bishop Fisher, who, like Sir Thomas More, suffered on Tower Hill for refusing to acknowledge Henry VIII as head of the Church, was buried here in 1535. Fuller writes, quoting Hall's account :

The souldiers attending his execution could not get spades to make his grave therewith but were fain with halbards (on the north side of the Churchyard of All Hallows Barking) to dig a hole where they cast his naked corpse.

He, Fuller, thinks this is 'inflamed by passion.' He disbelieves another most improbable story, viz. that Anne Boleyn gave orders that Fisher's head should be brought to her, that she 'might please herself with the sight thereof.'¹

There was a monument to Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey,

¹ Fuller's *Church History* (1655), Book V, p. 205.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

beheaded in 1546. His headless body was afterwards removed to Framlingham, in Suffolk. Only twenty-six years later his son, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, met a like fate.

His head being off, his body was put into a coffin belonging to Barking Church and the burying cloth of the same Church laid on him. He was carried into the Chapel of the Tower by four of the Lieutenant's men and there buried by the Dean of Paul's, he saying the service according to the Queen's book without any other preaching.¹

Archbishop Laud also was buried here, though his body was afterwards removed to Oxford. As to this Anthony à Wood has the following in his Diary :

1645. Jan 10. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was beheaded and his body afterwards being layd in a leaden coffin was buried at all Hallows Barking by the Tower of London.

July 24. The Bones of William Laud were laid in a vault at S. John's College at 10 of the clock at night having bin the day before taken from . . . London, where he was buried.

Dr. Heylyn writes of Laud's funeral :

It may be noted as a thing remarkable that being whilst he lived, the greatest Champion of the Common Prayer Book here by law established, he had the honour, being Dead, to be buried by the form therein prescribed after it had been long disused, and almost reprobated in most Churches of London.²

It was by Laud's appointment that his nephew, E. Layfield, became vicar in 1638. He followed Laud in matters of ritual and ceremony. This gave great offence, and in 1642 he was deprived by Parliament, dragged forcibly from his church, and imprisoned with much barbarity. The font was removed, as was also the sanctus bell, and the altar was broken down. The Presbyterian

¹ *Calendar of State Papers.* Q. Eliz. Addenda, June 2, 1572.

² Heylyn's *Continuation of Laud's Hist.*, 1695, p. 453.

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minister appointed by Parliament was not well received.¹ At the Restoration Layfield was reinstated and continued the use of church ornaments and ritual approved by Laud, apparently with the approbation of his congregation. There was, however, no organ till 1675, when a new one was installed, the work of Renatus Harris, and placed in a western gallery. The front of this only now remains. The old organ, which was placed on the rood screen, had been removed, presumably at the same time as the rood screen. The specification from which it was built by Anthony Duddington in 1519 has been preserved and is of great interest to musicians. The organ builder agreed

to make an Instrument, that y^s to say, a payer of organs for the foresed Church, of double Cefaut ² that y^s to say xxvij playne kayes, and the pryncipale to contayn the length of v. foote, so following with Bassys called Diapason to the same, contayning length of x. foot or more; and to be double pryncipalls throweout the seid instrument, so that the pyppes wⁱnforth shall be as fyne metall and stuff as the utter parts, that is to say of pure tyn, w^t as fewe stoppes as may be convenient. And the seid Antony to have earnest vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d. And also undernethe this condicion that the fore said Antony shall convey the belowes in the loft abowf in the seid Quere of Alhalows w^t a pype to the song bourde.³

The Registers preserved date from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Bishop Lancelot Andrewes was baptized here, and always prayed for the church.

The first vicar of the church was William Collis (or Coles), 1387.

(ij)

S. Petrus
ad Vincula

Of much greater historical interest, though of a later date, is the Church, or rather Chapel, of Saint Peter-within-the-Tower

¹ At this time anything in the shape of images was 'anathema,' more especially one described as 'a picture image of the Holy Ghost,' and they were removed from the church.

² Sc. Si Fa Ut.

³ Printed in Dr. C. R. Davey Biggs' book already alluded to.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

(sometimes termed a Chapel Royal), or, more correctly, Saint Peter ad Vincula.¹ It is a small building of the late Gothic period, with a low flat, or nearly flat roof. It is a question whether it would be called a parish church, but 'in 1353 Edward III constituted three Chaplains, together with a Rector, to celebrate daily in the Chapel,'² and Stow says, 'for the inhabitants there,' but of course not for the prisoners, as the building was detached and not a part of the fortress. But the place has for us sacred memories, being, in the words of Pennant,

the undistinguishing repository of the headless bodies of numbers who ended their days on the adjacent hill, or when greatly favored, within the fortress.

Here are buried in unmarked graves, among many others, Fisher Bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, Anne Boleyn, Catherine Howard, Thomas Cromwell, Protector Somerset, the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Essex. There is a tradition as to the spot where More was interred. Cresacre More in his life writes, 'In the bellfrie, or as some say, as one entreth the vestry.' John Davies of Hereford visited the church about 1610, and has some verse on the Earl of Essex :

I found
The Chappell open : where was shewed to mee
Where Essex was intered thats so renowned,
Upon whose grave were pues but newly pight
To keep all eyes from seeing where he lay
Least they to tears dissolue might with the sight
So hees a foot-stoole made for them that pray.³

One reference to a chaplain may be taken from Stow with

¹ S. Peter in bondage, for which there is a day in the Church Calendar.

² Newcourt's *Repertorium*,

³ *Scourge of Folly* (1611).

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the hope that the incident briefly recorded is unique in clerical biography :

In the yeare 1419 Frier Randolph was sent to the Tower and was there slaine by the Parson of S. Peters in the Tower.¹

At the commencement of the Civil War, Archbishop Laud was indignant to find the pulpit used to preach rebellion. He wrote in his ' History of the Troubles ' :

The next day being Sunday, one preached in the Tower Church in a Buff-Coat and a scarf, but he had a gown on. He told the people, they were all Blessed that dyed in this cause, with much more such stuff. His name was Kenn, Parson or Vicar of Loe-Layton in Essex and then Captain of a Troop of Horse.²

In early days the chapel was exempt from the authority of the Bishop of London, but Edward VI brought it under his jurisdiction, and Mary confirmed this.

S. John's
in the
Tower

The beautiful but severely simple Norman chapel in the White Tower, known as Saint John's Chapel, received but little notice. Stow passes it over with a single line : ' In the yeare 1512 the Chappell in the high white tower was burned. ' ³ (Probably he meant injured by fire.) It is in the style of the early Norman period, the east end being semicircular. There is a women's gallery with windows looking into the chapel. Henry III gave instructions for its decoration with colour and for the placing there of two statues—*duas ymagine pulcras*, the one of Saint Edward, the other of Saint John the Evangelist.⁴ It was used, no doubt, for devotional purposes by such kings and queens as occasionally used the Tower as a place of residence, and also by prisoners of State—some of the visitors unhappily having known the place in both capacities. In later years it

¹ *Survey* (1603), p. 59.

³ *Survey* (1603), p. 59.

² Aug. 20, 1643, p. 210.

⁴ See Pennant's *London*.



VISSCHER'S LONG VIEW (EASTERN HALF)

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was secularised by being used for the custody of the Public Records.

The Hospital and Collegiate Church of S. Katherine by the Tower, founded by Queen Alienore, the widow of King Henry II,¹ was saved from appropriation by Henry VIII through the intercession (so it was said) of Queen Anne Boleyn,² but the lands and revenues were seized by the Crown in the next reign. Dr. Francys Mallet, who was Master after Edward VI's death, gives the following account :

S. Katherine by the Tower

But how I founde the house when I first entred to it, bayr and unrepayred, it is not unknown to many ; and I did set up my house at my first entryng, furnyshed a quere w^t syngyng mē, bought furnuture both for the church and the house and hath ev'sith kept house.'³

The church remained as a Parish Church for many years. The two following quotations from plays refer, in the first case to the place as a Nunnery, and in the second to the use of the Hospital as a mad-house.

. . . me thought I met yong Cellide
Just at S. Katherines gate the Nunnery,
.
.
.
Did she not cry out, 'twas my folly, too,
That forc'd her to this Nunnery ?⁴

The World's turn'd Bethlem,
These are all broke loose
Out of Katherine's, where they use to keep
The better sort of mad folks.⁵

The church stood close to the river. A plate in Dugdale's

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 460. An earlier foundation by Queen Matilda, 1148, is given in *London and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 1914.

² *Bibliotheca Topographica Brit.* (1790), ii. 21.

³ Nichols' *Bibliotheca Topographica*, 1790, ii. 115.

⁴ Fletcher, *Monsieur Thomas* (1619), IV, j. But it could hardly have been a Nunnery in Fletcher's time.

⁵ Ben Jonson, *Alchemist* (1612), V, j.

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'Monasticon' shews a Gothic nave and aisles without tower or transepts. A view by Hollar (1660) shews the south side of the church with windows of the 'Perpendicular' period, six in the south aisle being unusually lofty, but without transomes, and three clerestory windows of the choir. The church had a Jacobean pulpit, with the inscription, 'Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood.' This pulpit, the gift of Sir Julius Cæsar, also the quaintly carved choir-stalls, with *misereres*, fortunately were preserved when the church was pulled down in 1829, and are now at S. Katherine's, Regent's Park.¹ The east end of the church was rather unusual, the wall being strengthened by two very massive corner turrets. There was a very large *Perpendicular* window.

(iij)

S. Olave,
Hart Street

To S. Olaf, King of Norway, murdered in 1028, three churches in the City are dedicated, and there is another on the south side of London Bridge. The name was softened into Olave. The best-known church is S. Olave, Hart Street, and is called in the oldest records 'S. Olave *juxta Turrim*,' being near to the Tower of London. It is an interesting Gothic church of the fifteenth century, and one of those that escaped the Fire. The parish register for 1586 has a name that is always honoured:

Aug. 22. The ould Ladye Sydney widdowe was carried to be burried at Penshurste . . . but pd all dutyes here both to the p̄son, the p̄sbe, and the officers.

This was Samuel Pepys' Parish Church, and he lived near by in Seething Lane. The notes in his Diary were made just

¹ See Article by G. C. Druce in *London and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 1914. The now S. Katherine's still boasts of a Master and Chapter, and the funds, though under new administration, are devoted to good works.

² If this Lady Sidney be the wife of Sir Henry Sidney, her death took place in the same year as that of her husband. Sir Philip Sidney, the son, died also in 1586.

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after the Restoration, when the Prayer Book and Church customs were again being used after their suppression. In 1660 he writes :

Nov. 4. In the morn to our own Church, where Mr. Mills did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer . . . but the people had been so little used to it that they could not tell what to answer.

Two years later he writes :

Put on my new Scallop which is very fine.

To Church and there saw the first time Mr. Mills in a surplice, but it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his eares in the reading-pew, after he had done, before all the Church, to go up to the pulpitt to preach without it.

There is a portrait bust of Mrs. Pepys in the chancel of the church and one to Samuel Pepys on the south side. Both husband and wife are buried under the altar.

A drawing by West in 1737 shews the church much as it is now, but it is without any railings. The existing ironwork with skulls and spikes over the entrance seems to have afforded Dickens a reason for the nickname of ' St. Ghastly Grim ' which he bestowed on it.

The church was older than the Priory of Holy Cross, which was erected in the parish in the time of William de Samford, the first rector of the church in 1319, who received from the Prior two marks per annum as compensation for, seemingly, imaginary damage. The parishioners, moreover, were granted the right of burying their dead in the Monastery. It would appear that the church had no churchyard of its own till 1680. In the return of 1636 the yearly income was stated to be £130. In 1632 the old building was in a decayed state and was restored. Besides the monuments already mentioned, there was an important one to Sir Andrew Riccard, who was President of the Turkey Company and died in 1672. Abraham Heyne,

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rector in 1633, was ejected by sequestration in consequence of his loyalty to the throne.

S. Katherine-
Cree

The ancient Priory of the Holy Trinity, or Christchurch, was surrendered to Henry VIII in 1531. The Church of S. Katherine-Cree (or Christchurch) was so named, according to Stow, because it 'standeth in the Cemitory of the late dissolved priorie of the Holy Trinitie.' But the church was built long before the suppression of the Priory and was served by one of the canons. In 1414 we hear of its being used as a parish church or chapel, and Stow himself mentions a monument as early as 1464, and he speaks of the great age of the church from the fact that the level of the street had been so raised that a descent of seven steps was necessary to get to the floor of the church. He adds that the steeple or bell-tower was 'lately built' about 1504. This church, but, so we take it, not the tower,¹ was taken down in 1628 and rebuilt. This was the church of which Newcourt, writing some eighty years after, said :

At the west end and adjoining the Steeple stands a Pillar of the old Church from the base to the Chapter . . . 18 foot high and but 3 feet to be seen above ground.

This is still to be seen, but only half of the octagonal shaft, divided vertically. That the level of the site should have been raised fifteen feet is difficult to believe. The Church of S. Andrew Under Shaft is not far off, and this great change of level does not appear there. The new church was finished in 1630, and we read in Archbishop Laud's Diary of that year :

Jan. 16. Sunday I consecrated S. Catherine Creed Church in London.

The building is partly an imitation of late Gothic, partly

¹ This still stands, but is much spoilt by restoration. Only one Gothic window is to be seen. The others have been Italianised and have round heads.

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Renaissance, the pillars having Corinthian capitals. At the east end is a circular window, usually called a Katherine-wheel window, from its wheel-like design, the symbol of the martyrdom of the patron saint. Referring again to the consecration, it was one of the accusations against Laud at his trial that in the consecration of this church and of S. Giles's in the Fields, he came 'in a pompous manner' and he 'kneeled down on entering and after used many Bowings and Cringings.'¹ It is interesting to find by an entry in the City Letter Book in 1530 that this church was granted a 'lycence to make and sette uppe a stage pleye for the profytte of theire Churche and the ornamente of the same.'²

Sir John Gayer, Lord Mayor, who died in 1649, left £200 to the parish to provide for an annual sermon on October 16. The story was that when travelling abroad he had once been lost in a desert, and a lion had passed by without harming him in consequence of his prayers and vows of charity. The sermon was known as 'the Lion Sermon' and is still preached.

There was a monument in the church to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Chief Butler and one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer to Queen Elizabeth, of whom Cecil wrote :

for counsel in peace and for conduct in war he hath not left of like sufficiency his successor.

In 1873, when the parish of S. James, Duke's Place, was united to this, the church became a rectory. When the great priory was suppressed the impropriation, worth £60 per annum, passed into the hands of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who in due time leased it to the parishioners.

¹ *History of the Troubles* (1695), p. 340.

² *City Letter Book O*, 164.

³ See Newcourt's *Repertorium*, and Hennessy's *Novum Repertorium*.

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Book-lovers will like to remember that the title-page of the first edition of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' has these words :

Printed and are to be sold by Peter Parker under Creed ¹ Church near Aldgate—1667.

Book-sellers' shops were often contiguous to churches, sometimes, even, built against the church wall.

The church was fortunate in escaping destruction by the Great Fire. An extract from the Vestry Minute Book in 1666 shews the inconvenience that must have been suffered in many cases.

Mr. Hector Forde, late Head Vsher of Marchant Taylor's School wch was burnt down in the late dreadfull conflagraion making it his request to the Vestrie that he might have the use of the Vestrye house to keep schoole in.

The request was granted, but the schoolmaster had to provide a partition to keep his boys from 'running about the Church.'²

Not far off is another, though but little known, church dedicated also to Saint Katherine of Alexandria, whose martyrdom and torture on a wheel have been above referred to. Saint Katherine Coleman, situate close to the present Fenchurch Street Station, narrowly escaped the Fire. The name Coleman merely added for distinction, a large yard adjoining bearing that name from its owner. A modern church (1734) has since replaced the old one which, from an old drawing, appeared to be a late Gothic building of the fourteenth century. Sir Wm. White, Mayor in 1489, restored or rebuilt the south aisle. The living was in the gift of the Priory of S. Martin-le-Grand, but in later times of the Bishop of London. Henry Kiberd,

S. Kath-
erine
Coleman

¹ 'Creed' is the spelling used by Archbishop Laud, but it does not accord with the supposed derivation from Christchurch.

² From the MS. now in the Guildhall Library.

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rector in 1641, suffered for his loyalty and was ejected by sequestration.

The Return of 1636 gives the income of the benefice (a rectory) at £110.

Walter Young in his Diary, January 2, 1622, wrote of a new church in Duke's Place, recently consecrated. This was the Church of Saint James, Duke's Place, Aldgate. It was built out of the ruins of the Priory of Holy Trinity and was intended to supply a local need. The time of the Stuarts was not a church-building age, and this one was little known to fame. It survived the Fire, but has long since disappeared. But its very existence and position afford a reminiscence of the old Priory Church of the Holy Trinity or Christ Church, within Aldgate. Henry VIII compounded with the Priory, which was surrendered in 1531 and given by the King to Sir Thomas Audley, and eventually came, by marriage of Lord Audley's daughter, into possession of the Duke of Norfolk, and got to be called 'The Duke's Place.' The street known as Duke's Place is still in evidence.

S. James,
Duke's
Place

Priory
Church of
the Holy
Trinity

Then was the Priory Church and Steeple proffered to whomsoever would take it down and carry it from the ground but no man would undertake the offer. . . . At that time any man in the City might have a cart-load of stone for paving brought to his door for 6*d.* or 7*d.*¹

Not far from the above, in the street still called 'The Minories,' from the Order of Minorites there located, was a small church dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Stow briefly alludes to it :

Holy
Trinity,
Minories

In place of this house of nunnes (*i.e.* of S. Clare ²) there is now builded . . . a small Parish Church for inhabitants of the close called S. Trinities.³

¹ 1657. James Howell, *Londonopolis*, p. 54. The Priory was founded *c.* 1100.

² S. Clare was a contemporary and friend of S. Francis, and founded about 1212 this Order of the Poor Ladies, called Claresses or Minoresses.

³ *Survey* (1603), p. 127.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

The church was a curacy, and is not in the Return of 1636. A late writer says :

The old Church . . . being much decayed and ruined was taken down in 1706 and rebuilt from the ground.¹

S.
Michael,
Aldgate

At the junction of Aldgate with Fenchurch Street was a church dedicated to S. Michael. An old drawing shows the crypt of this church, and a good idea of it may be obtained from a water-colour drawing at the British Museum. It is early Gothic work with clustered columns supporting the groined roof.² It measured only 46 ft. by 17 ft. and was entirely, or for the most part, below ground, but the drawing shews light entering from above.² When alterations were made in the street some years ago this beautiful crypt was covered in and completely buried under the widened road and pavement close to Aldgate Pump. Stow has but brief allusion to this church, which he mentions in conjunction with two others near, viz. S. Mary Magdalen and S. Katherine, the three parishes being amalgamated to form one parish of the Holy Trinity.

(iv)

Four churches were dedicated to S. Botolph, all of them being close to gates, viz. Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, Aldgate, and Billingsgate. The Saint, who was said to be specially the protector of travellers, was an Anglo-Saxon of the Seventh century, who built a monastery at Boston, Lincolnshire : hence the name—Botolph's Town.

S. Botolph,
Bishopsgate

Just outside the Bishop's Gate is one of these churches, and we are reminded of Stephen Gosson, who was rector there,

¹ *Magna Britannia*, p. 78.

² *Brit. Mus. Illustrated*, Pennant, ix. 42. In Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata* there is a good engraving.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

and of Edward Alleyn, who was a parishioner. Thomas Fuller in his *Worthies* writes :

Edward Allin was born in the aforesaid Parish near Devonshire House where now is the sign of the 'Pie.' He was the Roscius of our age. . . . He got a very great Estate and in his old age . . . he made friends of his unrighteous Mammon . . . Building a fair College at Dulwich . . . for the relief of poor people. . . . The poor of his native Parish Saint Buttolph's Bishopsgate have a priviledge to be provided for therein before others.¹

In 1616 Stephen Gosson writes :

At my howse in Saint Botolphes Withoute Bishopsgate. To the worshipfull Edward Allen Esquire at his howse at Dulwich, give theis with speed. . . . I have now sente you a personale view of those three poore persons whose names were presented to you . . . trusting that uppon this enterview you will give them their direction when they shall be admitted unto your hospitale of poore folkes (i.e. Dulwich College).

It is to be noted that Gosson, after being a writer of plays himself, wrote in his *School of Abuse* a diatribe against plays and playhouses. He is now asking a favour of Edward Alleyn who has expended the wealth acquired by theatres in the erection of his 'College of God's Gift' at Dulwich.

Sir Paul Pindar was a resident in this parish and the beautiful front of his house is now at South Kensington. He was, moreover, a liberal benefactor. In the parish records December 22, 1634, there is an entry, 'Given Sir Paule's cooke who brought the pastie 2s. 6d.' Sir Paul seems to have given the venison for the pasty, as the entry continues : 'for flower, butter, pepper, egges, making and baking, as by bill, 19s. 7d.' Sir Paul was very popular, and at his funeral in 1650 the crowd was great to see the coffin. The entry in the Record is 'Paid Mr. Ellis the glaiser for mendinge the windowes that were broken at Sir Paule Pinder's buriall 16s. 2d.'

¹ *Worthies of England* (1662), ii. 223.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

A curious incident is said to have occurred at this church in 1647. The story is told in a tract bearing the title :

Strange News from New-Gate or a true relation of the false Prophet that appeared in Buttolphs Church near Bishopsgate upon Sunday last in sermon time professing himself to be Christ.

The church was founded before 1291, the first rector being John de Northhampton, who resigned in 1323.¹

Hugh Weston was rector in 1544 :

Hugh Weston, Doctor of Divinitie ys pson of the seyd Church and the yerely value of the same ys 22*l.* and that no prist is founde wⁱⁿ the saide church or pische by the pson or other wyse to helpe to serve the cure but his Curate.²

In 1898 the income was valued at £1650. The patronage, except for a brief period, has always been with the Bishop of London.

The church escaped the Great Fire, but was rebuilt in 1725.

S. Botolph,
Alders-
gate

Of the church at Aldersgate a strange story of sacrilege is told in the reign of Henry VIII :

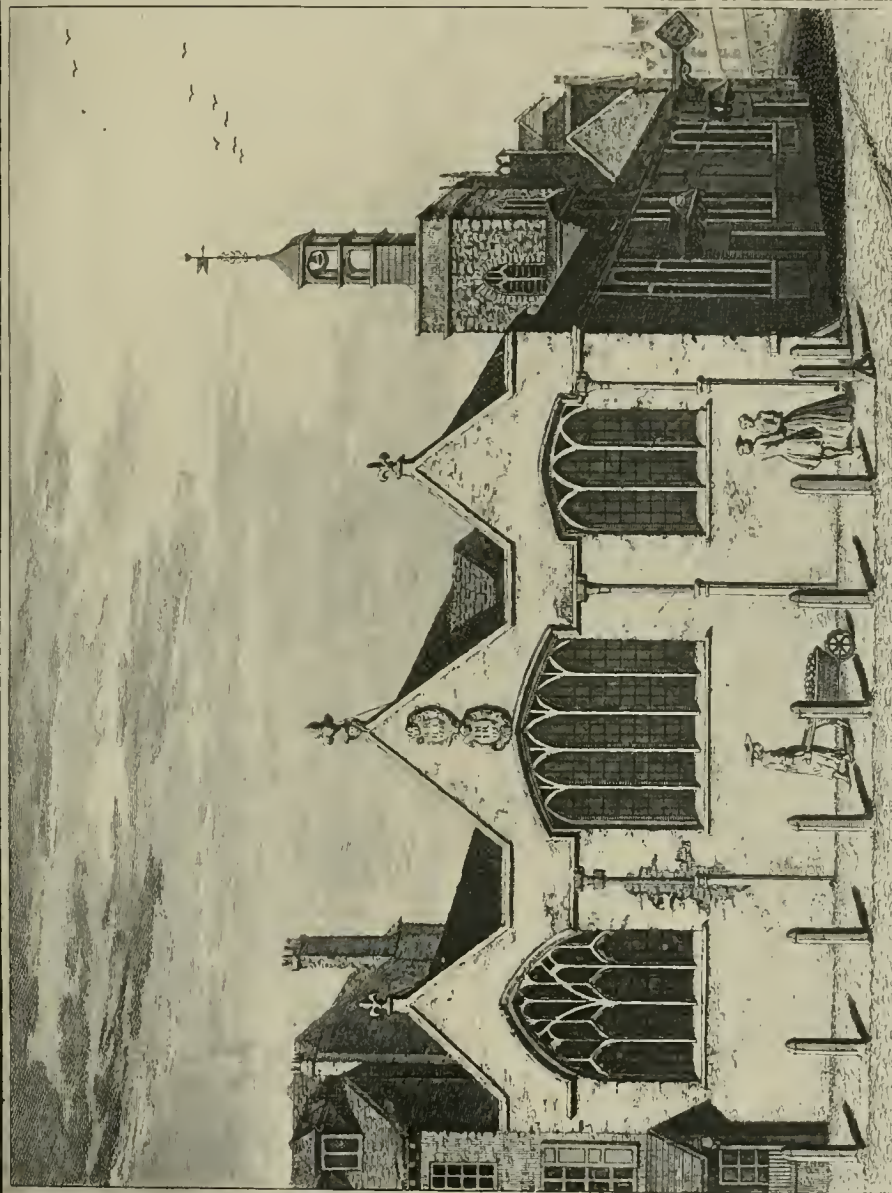
1532.—This yere . . . the sacrement at Sent Butteles at Aldersgate on Good Fryday in the mornynge was stolne owte at the est wyndow and iij ostess wrappyd in a rede clothe and a woman browte it vnto the porter of the Gray freeres and she tane and broote vnto the shreffe.³

The church was founded before 1291, John de Steventon being the first rector in 1333. The living was originally in the possession of S. Martin-le-Grand. But on the suppression of the priory Henry VIII granted it to the Bishop of Westminster (at that time a see).

¹ According to Hennessy a MS. note in a copy of Newcourt's *Repertorium* gives John Whiting, 1218.

² *College and Chantry Certificates*, 34. Hennessy.

³ *Chron. of the Grey Friars*. *Rolls Monumenta Franciscana*, ii. 195.

[illegible]

This Plate is kindly attributed by the Proprietors, Robt. Wells & Wm. Toms.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

The church escaped the Great Fire, but was rebuilt in 1796. The churchyard remains and is used as a garden of rest.

The church records and accounts date from 1466. An engraving by Toms after West, 1709, shews the old church before it was pulled down. We see the exterior of the east end with three gables and three windows in late Gothic style. There is a tower and bell-turret.

The Church of S. Botolph-without-Aldgate dates (traditionally) from the time of William the Conqueror. The first rector whose name is recorded is Ralph de Cantebriggia, 1362-3. The church was attached to the Priory of the Holy Trinity, and was rebuilt before the suppression and restored in 1621. It survived the Great Fire, but was rebuilt at a later period. A drawing by West engraved by Toms shews the old church before rebuilding. We see a late Gothic building with nave and two aisles, the east end having three gables. A tower of three stories with bell-turret.

S. Botolph-
without-
Aldgate

The church, situate as it was at so short a distance from the Tower, was used on more than one occasion as the burial-place of sufferers for real or alleged treason. Sir Nicholas Carew was one of such. Master of the Horse to Henry VIII, Knight of the Garter, and well known as the Lord of Beddington in Surrey, where he entertained the King, he was convicted of treason as being concerned in the plot of the Marquis of Exeter. The Darcy family had a tomb in the old church, and Sir Thomas Darcy, who was beheaded for being covertly connected with the insurgents of the Pilgrimage of Grace, was buried there. At the time of the Great Plague a large number of victims were buried in a pit in the churchyard.

S. Botolph, Billingsgate, on the south side of Thames Street, is said to have been founded before the Conquest. Tradition records a gate known as Botolph's Gate and built in the time

S. Botolph,
Billings-
gate

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

of Edward the Confessor. The first rector was Thomas de Snodelonde, 1343.

A tale is told of fanaticism in the second year of Queen Elizabeth :

The 25 day (Aug. 1559) at S. Botolph's, Billingsgate, the Rood and the Images of Mary and John and of the Patron of that Church, were burnt with books of Superstition.¹

The church was not rebuilt after the Fire, the parish being united to that of S. George, Botolph Lane.

(v)

S.
Andrew-
under-
Shaft

S. Andrew-under-Shaft stands at the corner of S. Mary Axe on the north side of what is now called Leadenhall Street, but was formerly a continuation of Cornhill. The compound title is from the Maypole which was erected annually opposite the church. The old church dated from the thirteenth century,² and was rebuilt in 1520-32 in the late Gothic style of that period, and was fortunate in escaping the Great Fire. The old tower, however, still remains, and traces of the foundations can be seen. This was the parish church of John Stow, and is visited by all who venerate the name of the great antiquarian and prince of topographers, whose work was the foundation of all other works on London for a century and more after his death. Thomas Fuller in his 'Worthies' thus commemorates Stow :

John Stow was born in this City, bred at learning no higher then a good Gramar-Scholar, yet he became a painful, faithful, and (the result

¹ Strype's *Reformation under Elizabeth*.

² Or possibly earlier. In the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV, 1291, it is called 'S. Andree de Cornhull.' The street was a continuation of Cornhill at that time.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

of both) useful Historian. He died . . . Apr. 5 1605 and is buried at the upper end of the North Isle of the Quire of Saint Andrews, Undershaft.¹

and (so Pennant writes) 'to the shame of his time, in much poverty.' The portrait-monument to him in the church has often been engraved and is well known, being something in the style of the Shakespeare bust at Stratford-on-Avon.

In the church is a memorial brass to Nycolas Leveson, whose house was in Lime Street, and who died in 1539. He and his wife are represented kneeling and facing each other. Behind are eight sons and ten daughters. His wife Dionysia's name appears as a purchaser in the record of a sale of church vestments and furniture in the reign of Edward VI.

Item sold to Mistress Leveson two aulter frontes of Dornyke and res. therefore v^s iij^d.

besides other purchases. By his will he bequeathed to the high altar of S. Andrew 'for the Tithe forgotten vi^s viij^d. There is also a brass in memory of Simon Burton, 'a good benefactor to ye poore.' Both his wives and his children are figured on the brass. He was a governor of S. Thomas's Hospital, and died in 1593.

The Maypole or Shaft was erected in front of the church. When not required the pole lay on a row of hooks over the house doors in Shaft Alley, which still bears that name. It was destroyed by the mob in 1552. Stow himself writes in 1598 :

These great Mayings and May games made by the Governors and Maisters of the Citie, with the triumphant setting up of the great shaft (a principall Maypole) in Cornhill before the Parish Church of Saint Andrew, therefore called Undershaft . . . have not beene so freely used as afore.²

¹ Stephen Jennings, merchant taylor, at his own expense built the whole of the north side.

² *Survey* (1603), p. 100.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

Yet we find in James I's Book of Sports (1618) (re-issued by Charles I), 'Maypoles and other Sports therewith used' are specially mentioned among the lawful games to be played on Sunday:

So as the same be had in due and convenient time without impediment or neglect of Divine Service.

But the Puritanical dislike to 'Mayings,' and revels and sports in general, assumed sometimes the nature of a riot. On one occasion the Maypole was cut in pieces and burnt.

May-day 1517 was called 'Evil May-day' in consequence of an insurrection of the 'prentices, partly from animus against aliens and partly on account of this Shaft. Pennant says that in Edward VI's time there were again fanatics whose consciences were moved by the May-pole, which still hung in its place in Shaft Alley.

There were cases of public recantation in the reign of Edward VI that were instances more of time-serving than conviction.

In the month of May (1547) Dr. Richard Smith, Professor of Divinity in Oxon, made a recantation of his popish errors at S^t Paul's Cross, and in June one Perrin, a Black friar, recanted in the parish church of S. Andrew-under-shaft that whereas he had before preached that it was good to worship the pictures of Christian Saints, now he said he had been deceived and was sorry that he had taught such doctrines. But in Queen Mary's reign they both appeared in the pulpits open defenders again of these and the like renounced doctrines.¹

The patronage of the rectory was with the Priory of S. Helen, until the Dissolution, and from the time of Queen Elizabeth with the Bishop of London. The first rector was William de Chichester, who died in 1362. In 1561 the adjacent Parish of S. Mary-at-the-Axe was annexed to that of S. Andrew.

¹ Strype's *Memorials of Edw. VI*, ch. vj.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

The old church just referred to disappeared in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth,¹ but the street bears its name to this day. S. Mary-at-the-Axe

It is thus alluded to by John Stow :

In S. Marie Street had ye of olde time a Parish Church of S. Marie the Virgine, Saint Ursula and the 11000 Virgins, which Church was commonly called S. Marie at the Axe, of the signe of an Axe, over against the east end thereof.²

The name comes from the old tradition, which one fears must be called a myth, that the good S. Ursula travelled all over Europe on an expedition accompanied by 11,000 virgins. They suffered martyrdom by beheading, an axe being the weapon of the executioner. Hence the sign of the axe in the title of this commemorative church. In the French Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, c. 1300, it is said that the virgins were shipwrecked in Barbary, and that they suffered by their own will: 'Eles vount par accorde à martyrement.'³ S. Mary Pelliper was an alternative title, derived (so it is said) from the name of some adjacent piece of land.

The first rector of the united parishes was John Johnson, 1565. The original church dated from the thirteenth century, and is mentioned in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas, 1291, and called S. Marie del Ax.

Perhaps not one of the old churches still left with us conveys more the impression of grey antiquity and calm repose than does that of S. Helen. Its position in a little close slightly removed from the busy thoroughfare of Bishopsgate deepens this feeling of restfulness, and we enter by a descent to find an interior differing from the well-balanced formality of the orthodox church inasmuch as the usual aisles are non-existent, the building

¹ The lower part of the church was built over, forming a Free Grammar School.

² *Survey* (1603), p. 162.

³ *Rolls*, vol. i. p. 86.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

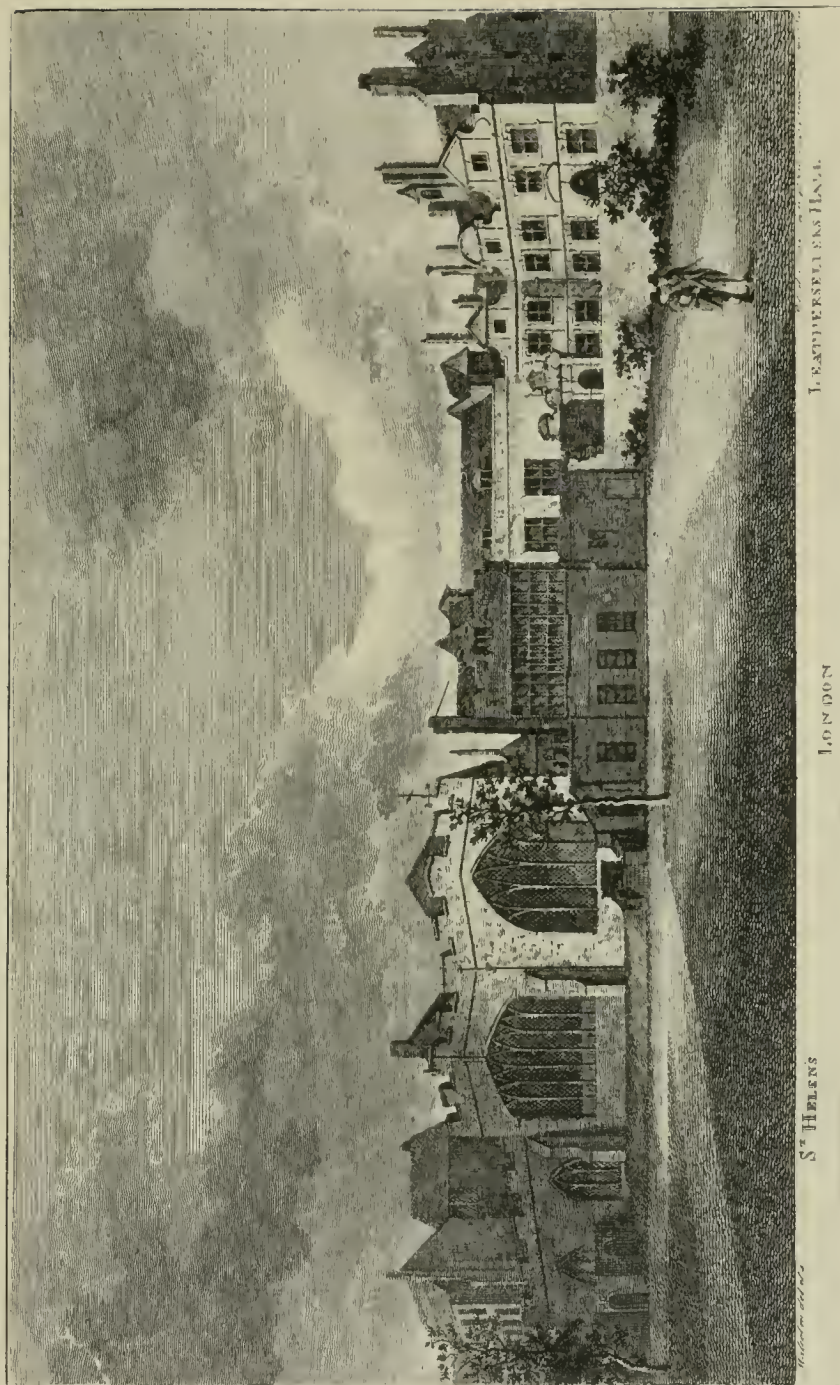
having practically two naves divided by an arcade ; that on the north side having been the nuns' choir during the many years that the church was attached to the great Benedictine Priory of S. Helen, the home of the Black Nuns. The priory was founded about 1212 by William fitz William.¹ But there was a church much earlier than the priory held by the Canons of S. Paul's and certainly in existence before 1010, for in that year the body of King Edmund the Martyr was removed from S. Edmund's Bury and deposited there for safety. The thirteenth-century church was built on the foundations of this ancient church. On the surrender of the priory to Henry VIII the church became a parish church,² and has so remained. It is still 'a faire church,' to quote Stow's words, and 'still wanted such a steeple as Sir Thomas Gresham promised to have builded in recompense of ground in the church filled up with his monument.'³ Yet Vischer's pictorial map of 1616 certainly shews the church as having a fairly high spire.

The exterior of the church, as indeed is almost the rule, having undergone many changes and restorations in the course of years, does not show so great age nor possess the beauty of the interior. The principal entrance is by the west door by a descent of six steps, there being another entrance on the south side. This latter shews restoration at a late period, for it is dated 1633 and has all the character of the Stuart period. Indeed, Inigo Jones is said to have had a hand in this and other parts of the church. Two large windows at the west end are 'Perpendicular,' that attached to the nun's choir having a transome. The two large west windows are 'decorated,' the others in the

¹ Stow seems to be in error in naming Wm. Basing as the founder. See T. Hugo in *Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* 1865. Also J. E. Cox, *Annals of St. Helen's*.

² According to Newcourt, it was a parish church within the priory church before the suppression.

³ Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 173.



S^t HELENS

LONDON

LEATHERSELLERS HALL

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

church for the most part of a late period with four-centred arches. The great and striking beauty of the church is the centre arcade of lofty pointed arches, six in number, and in two similar arches that divide the two chapels. These form a transept on the south-east side, and are dedicated to 'The Holy Ghost' and 'The Virgin Mary.'

Until 1538, when the priory was suppressed, the nuns' choir was divided from the nave by a screen, the Sisters having their own door of exit on the north (now closed). The last Prioress was Mary Rollesby. It may not be entirely out of place to insert here a brief quotation from Dugdale shewing something of the life of the place in 1439. 'The world forgetting, by the world forgot,' did not perfectly apply to this nor probably to any other religious house.

In the year 1439 Raynold Kentwode, Dean of Paul, made constitutions for the Government of this Nunnery, some of which were that Divine Service be by them duly perform'd night and day ; that no secular person be locked within the bounds of the Cloyster, nor come within it after the Compline Bell . . . that no dancing or revelling be used in the House except at Christmas and then among themselves.¹

The priory covered a large area, extending to what is now 'St. Helen's Place.' For many years after the suppression the refectory, a beautiful hall with panelled ceiling, with a crypt below, was in existence, having been sold to the Leather-sellers' Company, and used as their Common Hall, and it is a matter of great regret that the Company saw fit to pull it down.²

The church is crowded with monuments, and there are also some good brasses. Two notable citizens of London, in life separated by a century of time, lived close to the church and

¹ *Monasticon* (1693), ii. 896.

² A view of this may be seen in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

are there buried—Sir John Crosby, who died 1475, and Sir Thomas Gresham, 1579. Crosby House (the name survives in Crosby Square) was a residence fit for a prince. The banqueting hall was for years one of the most interesting ‘show’ places in the City. Though it is no longer *in situ*, it may be seen near the river at Chelsea. His monument, with that of his first wife Anneys, is of Purbeck marble and is in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost.

Sir Thomas Gresham’s monument has already been mentioned. It is a plain altar tomb with sculptured coat of arms and stands near the window in the north side of the east end. Sir Julius Caesar, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty and Master of the Rolls, died 1634. His epitaph is carved to imitate a deed with signature and seal attached:

by this my Act and Deed I confirm with my full consent that by the Divine aid I will willingly pay the debt of Nature as soon as it may please God.¹

Sir William Pickering, who in Queen Mary’s reign opposed the Spanish marriage and was concerned in Wyatt’s conspiracy, and who died in 1575, has a magnificent altar tomb having a life-size effigy recumbent, covered by a double canopy supported by six Corinthian columns. Martin Bond, Captain of the City Train Bands in 1588 when reviewed by Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury, has a monument. A tent is shewn in the sculpture, with Bond sitting at the door; outside two armed sentinels and a page holding a horse. He remained Captain till his death in 1643, at the age of eighty-five. Other fine monuments are those of Sir John and Lady Spencer, 1609, and John de Oteswich and Mary his wife. Two of the oldest monuments are those of Thomas Langton, chaplain, 1350,

¹ Sir Julius Caesar’s *Travelling Library*, a set of miniature classics, beautifully bound and in a case, may be seen in the King’s Library at the British Museum.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

and Adam Francis, Mayor, 1354. There is also an inscription to the memory of

Robert Cotesbrok gist ycy morust le xj jō de Maris, l'an de g'ce Milccclxxxiiij.¹

The church is a vicarage, not liable for the usual payment of first-fruits and tenths.

Thomas Horton, vicar in 1666, was Gresham Lecturer in Divinity. These lectures were delivered in Gresham College, Sir Thomas Gresham's foundation. For many years his house opposite St. Helen's Church in Bishopsgate Street was used for the purpose.

A few extracts from the church register and from the churchwardens' accounts will be of interest.

Feb. vj 1558. It is agreed that Gregory Bacon shall serve in the Quyer as a Conducute to playe and singe there and to have L iiij by the yere for his wage.

That Will^m Hagar shall paye for his absence at this Vestrye ijd.

1575. Received of Sir Thos. Gresham Knight for his lycense to eat flesh and put into the poor Men's box, according to the statute, 6s 8d.

1609. paid for VI gallons and III quarts of Clarett Wyne at ijs and iiij the gallon,

and in 1611 a curious baptism entry :

Job rakt out of the Ashes being borne the last day of August in the lane going to Sir John Spencer's back gate and there laid in a heape of Sea-cole ashes was baptised . . . and dyed the next day after.

In 1643 are entries that indicate the new party in power :

Paid for taking down the Cross upon the Belfry and for writing down the names of these that tooke not the Covenant.

Paid a carver for defacing the Superstitious inscriptions.

¹ See *History of St. Helen's*, by J. E. Cox, who thinks this last is the oldest in the church ; but the two previous names given above on the authority of Stow are earlier.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

Another entry shows what became of some of the old brasses and church ornaments under Puritan rule.

1644 Received for 13 lb. of ould brass 0.5.6.

The church is usually called 'Great S. Helen's,' probably to distinguish it from 'Little S. Helen's,' which was a house near by occupied by nuns.

S. Ethel-
burga

A little to the north of S. Helens in Bishopsgate Street still stands the little Church of S. Ethelburga, one of the smallest, if not indeed the smallest church in London, and perhaps unique in the quaintness of its general appearance and location. Its front is almost hidden by small shops with upper stories, perhaps two centuries old, which block out the greater part of its west window. The entrance is under these shops, and in the porch are some traces of stone panelling, apparently of the Tudor period.

Stow has no information as to the little church. A drawing of 1737 by West shews it much as it is now, almost built in by houses. Some of the Gothic arches of the ancient church still remain, and there is a carved rood screen with gallery.

In Queen Mary's reign the parson got into trouble, as we read in Wriothesley's *Chronicle* :

The 23 Aug. (1553) John Day, parson of S. Alborowes within Bishopsgate, was set on the pilory againe and had his other eare nayled.

Only two days before the first ear had been nailed, his offence being 'Seditious wordes speakinge of the Quenes Highness.'¹

The church, which fortunately survived the Fire, was built before 1291. The first rector in the London Register as quoted by Newcourt was Robert Kilwardeby, who died in 1366. John Larke, rector, who died in 1504, was attainted for treason, having denied the King's (Henry VIII's) supremacy, and was executed

¹ Camden Society, ii. 101.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

at Tyburn. A drawing by West engraved by Toms in 1736 shews the church presumably much as it was in the previous century. It has a spire, on one side of which is a bell-gable, and a bell (no doubt the *Sanctus bell*) is visible. The west window, surmounted by a step-gable, is partly blocked by a butcher's shop. This and the adjacent houses apparently date from the Sixteenth century, if not earlier.

The Patron Saint Edilburga, or Æthelburgh, was Saxon, being the daughter of King Ethelbert of Kent and wife of Edwyn, King of Northumberland. She built a monastery and assumed the veil after becoming a widow. She died about 647. According to the 'National Dictionary of Biography,' she was appointed Abbess of Barking by her brother Erkenwald, Bishop of London.

Of the eight churches dedicated to 'All the Saints' the most important has been already noted; others may be briefly mentioned. Of 'All Hallows Staining' Stow writes:

All Hallows
Staining

commonly called Stane Church (as may be supposed) for a difference from other Churches, which of old were builded of timber,

but the explanation is not very satisfactory. He says of a street called Stayning Lane that it was so called of Painter Stainers dwelling there, and that the small Church of S. Mary Stayning took its name from the Lane. Mr. Kingsford, Stow's latest editor, thinks the name is explained by a reference to the ancient 'parochia de Stanenetha' (Stonehithe). Stow adds that most of the 'fayre monuments of the dead were pulled downe and swept away and that the Churchwardens' accounts shewed 12 shillings for brooms.' At the present time all that is left of this church, viz. the square stone tower and part of the churchyard, can be seen from Star Court, Mark Lane.

It would appear that the church was built before 1291.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

According to the London Register, which commenced in 1306, the first rector was Edward Camel, who died in 1329. The church was not burnt in the Great Fire, although the flames approached very nearly, but not long after the main part of the church fell suddenly. It was rebuilt (in part) at the beginning of the eighteenth century, for Newcourt in his 'Repertorium' (1708) states, 'The Church is now a Donative Curacy in the Gift of the Grocers' Company.' Portions of the old church remained, for a drawing by West engraved by Toms, 1736, shews the old tower and a portion of the church having a Gothic window of the decorated period.

All
Hallows-
on-the-
Wall

The street known as London Wall (formerly Currier Row) marks the course of the old city wall, and portions of the masonry may still be seen. Here the church (as rebuilt) known as All Hallows on the Wall still clings to the remnant of the old wall. In the early part of the eighteenth century the old church was actually on the wall, the street being eight or ten feet below. This is clearly seen in a drawing by West engraved by Toms, dated 1724. The east and south sides are shewn with windows flat-headed or nearly so. The tower and bell-turret of timber. There was a monument to Queen Elizabeth. She was described as a Judith against the Holofernes of Spain ; like Deborah, a Mother in Israel :

In Court a Saint,
In Field an Amazon,
Glorious in life,
Deplored in her death.

The churchwardens' accounts for 22 Henry VIII have amongst other items 'payde for a sacke of colys vjd : for brede and dryncke for them that wachyd the sepucre jd : for Judas Candells iiijd.'

There was a cell in the church for an anchorite familiarly

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

called the 'Anker-hole.' The most celebrated of these recluses was 'Symon the Anker,' who occupied the cell in the reign of Henry VIII and who wrote a book called 'The fruyte of redempcyon,' printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1514 in black-letter :

Of your charyte praye for the Anker of London Wall wretched Symon that to the honour of Jhesu Cryst and of the virgyn his moder mary hath compyled this matter in englysshe for your ghostly comforte that under-stande no latyn. (D jv.)

Symon must have been a source of profit to the church, for the accounts shew payments made by him of money received as gifts from visitors. There is, moreover, an entry :

Item receyuede of the ankyr Syr Symon of the gaynes of a stande of ale which he gave to the Cherche iiij s vjd ob.

and another :

Itm̃ a chalys gevyn by S^r Symon Anker anno henrici octauī xiiij^o wayenge viij vn̄cs.

The first rector was Thomas Richer de Sanston, 1335. The church, which was founded before 1291, was formerly attached to the Priory of the Holy Trinity. After the suppression the gift was with the Crown.

Near by, at the north end of S. Mary Axe and adjoining the city wall, stood the small church called 'S. Augustine-on-the-Wall' or 'The Papey,' or 'Pappay,' the latter name being from a house so called occupied by the Fraternity of S. Charity called 'The Papey of poor impotent priests.' This brotherhood of threescore priests and the Company of Parish Clerks, who were skilled in singing *Diriges* and funeral offices, were accustomed to attend the solemn burials of the rich and great. In about 1430 these brethren were allowed to have the church,

S. Au-
gustine—
Papey

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

which, on suppression of the fraternity, was pulled down. The first rector was Ste. de Renyton, 1321.¹

Allhallows
the Great

Allhallows the Great in Thames Street was called by Stow 'Alhallowes the More,' and he adds :

it is also called Allhalloves *ad foenum* in the Ropery, because hay [was] sold neare thereunto at hay wharfe and ropes of old time made and sold in the high street.²

There was a cloister round the churchyard, an unusual feature in a parish church.

The first rector was Thos. de Wodeford, 1361, but the church was built before 1291, as it is mentioned in the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas IV as *Omnium Sctor ad fenu*. Thos. Bedyll was rector in 1534. Writing to Thos. Cromwell in 1535 he says, 'I have a benefice worth 40*l.* a year named "All Hallows the More," which I am willing to resign.'³ He wrote books against the primacy of the Pope. The church was burnt in the Great Fire.

Allhallows-
the-Less

All Hallows the Less was in Thames Street, and was not rebuilt after the Great Fire, but a part of the churchyard remains. In the will of N. Snypston, 1392, there is a reference to this church, which used to be called Allhallows-the-Less upon the Solars (*super solariis*), *i.e.* the Cellars, a title which resembles that of S. Mary-le-bow (S. Marie de Arcubus).

The steeple and choir of the church stood on the arched gateway of the large house known as Cold Harbour, or Harbrough, newly built 1594. The first rector was Thomas de Besill, 1322. The church was not rebuilt after the Fire, but the parish was annexed to All Hallows the Great. The site of the church made a graveyard.

¹ The church is mentioned in the *Taxatio* of 1291.

² *Survey*, ed. 1603, p. 236. In *Valor Beneficiorum* 1680 *Omn. Sanct. ad Fenne*. Value £41 18*s.* 1*d.*

³ *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII*, viii. 730.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

Allhallows, Bread Street, was situate at the corner of Watling Street. In the twenty-third year of King Henry VIII the church was suspended for a month because, as Stow writes :

Allhallows,
Bread
Street

Two priests fell at variance, that the one drew bloud of the other . . . the priests were committed to prison and being inioyned penance, went before a generall procession bare headed, bare footed and bare legged . . . with beades and bookes in their hands.¹

The first rector was Walter de Sonnebres, 1284. In Queen Mary's reign Laurence Saunders the rector was burnt at Coventry for preaching against Roman doctrine.

In 1559 the spire of the church, which Stow calls 'a fayre spired steeple' of stone, was struck by lightning about nine or ten feet from the top. It was 'but little damnified.' Yet so small was the public spirit of Bread Street that the steeple was 'taken downe for sparing the charges of reparation.'² The church was one of the thirteen known as 'Peculiars.'³ In this church John Milton was baptized. He was born in Bread Street in 1608.

Another small church dedicated to all the Saints was in Honey Lane, Cheapside, built probably somewhere about the latter part of the thirteenth century. Not rebuilt after the Fire, but the site thrown into Honey Lane Market, which still exists. Stow says there were no monuments worth noting, but after his time Sir John Norman was buried here. He was the first Mayor who went by water to be sworn in at Westminster.

Allhallows,
Honey
Lane

Allhallows, Lombard Street, is another of the thirteen churches called 'Peculiars.'⁴ Stow calls it 'Grass-church,' from the street close by or possibly the 'grass market.' The church was newly built before 1500 and finished in 1516. The bell-tower was not finished till 1544. The stone for the porch was

Allhallows,
Lombard
Street

¹ *Survey* (1603), p. 349.

² See note to S. Mary-le-bow.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See note to Bow Church.

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brought from the dissolved Priory of S. John of Jerusalem. The bells from the priory were bought but not delivered, so, as Stow says, 'That fayre steeple hath but one bell.' The first rector was Robert de Kilewardly towards the end of the thirteenth century.

S. Alphege

The Church of S. Alphege as it at present stands is on the south side of London Wall.

Ælfheah, the patron saint, was better known as Alphege or Alphege. He was Archbishop of Canterbury, having, according to some accounts, been previously Prior of Glastonbury. The Danes took him prisoner, tortured, and eventually murdered him at Greenwich, where the church is dedicated to him. The four lofty Gothic arches through which the church in London Wall is entered were originally part of the church belonging to Elsing Spital. The first Church of S. Alphege stood on the north side of the street close to the wall, and was pulled down, the site, as Stow relates, being turned into a carpenter's yard.

This old church dated from the eleventh century and was in the gift of the Deans of S. Martin's-le-Grand until the Dissolution. Afterward the Bishop of Westminster was patron, but Queen Mary transferred the advowson to Bishop Bonner. The first name recorded as rector was John Catelyn early in the fourteenth century. James Halsey, rector in 1638, was badly treated by the rebels in the early part of the Civil War, ejected from the living, and died of grief. Thomas Doolittle was ejected for nonconformity. He built a meeting house in Windsor Court, Monkwell Street, about the year 1669. There was a house close by through which he escaped if interrupted by soldiers, which was often the case in those illiberal times when religious toleration was hardly understood, even in theory. In 1672 he got a licence from Charles II, an indulgence seemingly then obtainable by Nonconformists.¹

¹ See Brayley, *Lond. and Midd.*, III, i. 331.

“ This representeth the symylytude of th’ olde Steple A.º Dni. 1121 ”

“ Remembraunce that
day of May, the yere of
and the yere of the requeir
after the Conquest, IX in
thirte Wardens, the olde
was bequene to

the Munday the xxvith
of Lxxi God MCCCXXI
of King Harry the fette
the tyme of the forsayd
Steeple of the forsayd Church
drawe upwone"

Remembrance that the Tuesday,
the first of Sexte byrnia the Bishop, the
the tyme of the towyned Church Wardens,
Staple was byd to the xxvii & discrete
Church towyned, and be the towyned Church
paste, in the worship of the Holy Trinity,
Sexte Myghell the Archangell, and of
Of the which bypennyng

the XXV day of September, being that day
year of our Saviour Christ M.CCC.XXII in
the first stone of fundament of the new
pew M^r Piers Hynewyke, p^{er}son of the
Worlouse & many of worthy men of the
and of our lady Seynte Mary, and of
all the Holy company of Heven.
God grante a good ending. Amen."

Published 27 June 1899, by W^m Herbert, Lambeth.

and Rob^t Witherspoon, N^o 23, Cornhill, London.

The Original Ancient Steeple of St. Michael in Cornhill, London.

as it appeared previous to its destruction in 1821.

From a singularly curious Drawing of the Time, made with Pen and Ink and preserved in an ancient Vellum Record in the possession of that Parish

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

Among those buried in the church (according to Major Payne Fisher's list ¹) was Sir William Cheny, 'a descend' of that most antient and Lordly family of the Chenies.' A sculptured mural monument to Sir Rowland Heywood (who Stow says 'dwelt in this Spittle') has been preserved. The knight was twice Lord Mayor. His two wives with their sixteen children are portrayed on the monument. The site of the church on the opposite side of the street is bounded by a portion of the old Roman wall. It is now used as a little garden of rest for London wayfarers.

(vi)

The Church of S. Michael, on the south side of Cornhill, was the most important of the eight churches in London dedicated to the honour of the Archangel. The history of the earliest church cannot be traced, but tradition points to a church in Saxon times. There was a Norman church in the twelfth century, if not earlier, for we find that in 1133 it was in the possession of the Abbott of Evesham, and the living granted by him to 'Sparling the Priest' in that year.² The Gothic church was probably fourteenth century. At all events, the tower was destroyed in 1421, and the Book of Accounts, which has been printed,³ has a pen-and-ink drawing of the 'Symilitude of the old Steple 1421.' It shews a tower of three stories surmounted by a spire and four pinnacles. Hollar's view of 1647 shews a tower of a plainer character. It contained a peal of five bells, afterward increased to ten, rung each night at eight o'clock. Stow says :

S.
Michael,
Cornhill

The best ring of 6 Belles to be rung by 6 men that was in England, for harmonye, sweetnes of sound and tune.

¹ 1666.

² Stow, *Survey*, 1603.

³ Ed. by W. H. Overall.

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We may therefore assume that the following quotation from the morality play of 'The Three Ladies of London' alludes to this church :

You may thank God and good companie that you came this way.
The Parsonage of S. Michael, bi'r Ladie if you have nothing els,
You shall be sure of a liuing beside a good ring of bels.

The sixth bell was added afterwards, and named 'Rus' from the giver. Stow gives his personal testimony to the truth of a marvellous tale told him by his father how certain men ringing a peal during a thunderstorm :

an ugly shapen sight appeared to them comming in at the south window. The ringers were struck motionless and on recovering they found certain stones . . . to bee raysted and scrat . . . and printed with a Lyons clawe . . . and so remain to this day. I have seen them oft and have put a feather or small sticke into the holes where the clawes had entered.

On the south side of the church was a cloister and a churchyard, in which stood a pulpit-cross. The open space now to be seen and approached by an archway from S. Michael's Alley is probably only a portion of this.

When the church was burnt in the Great Fire the bells were melted, but the tower itself still stood for fifty years, and was then taken down as wanting in stability. It was then rebuilt by Wren in the Gothic style as we now see it, and was meant to be, so we are told, a copy of the old tower ; but there is a stiffness in the detail of the carved stonework which is characteristic of all Wren's attempts at Gothic work. He had already rebuilt the church in Renaissance style, and did not seem to see the incongruity of the combination.

The advowson of the living was with the Abbot of Evesham until 1503, and then passed to the Drapers' Company.

The first rector recorded in the Register was William de Wyholakesford.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

The annual income was returned at £118. William Brough, rector of this church and canon of Windsor, 1638, was sequestered in the time of the Civil War. He was a favourite with Archbishop Laud, which no doubt increased the animosity of the party in power. There was a monument in the church to Robert Fabian, who is well known as the author of a Chronicle History down to Henry VII, which book was ordered by Cardinal Wolsey to be burnt because it 'discovered the Clergy's Faults too plainly.'

Sir Robert Drope, Lord Mayor, and member of the Drapers' Company, was buried here, as is mentioned in a tract of 1624. Starting on the subject of sheep, the author touches on the blessing of wool, and so digresses to the benefaction of the Drapers' Company.

He lieth buried in Saint Michaels Church in Cornhill ; he gave towards poore maides marriages . . . twenty pounds . . . and three hundred shirts and smockes, and a hundred gownes of Broadcloth.¹

Here is an entry from the parish register, November 12, 1641 :

Baptized. John Cornhill a foundling in the Street.

The responsibility of fatherhood did not seem to burden the consciences of the parishioners of S. Michael's. The register records many similar cases, 'Cornhill' being always given as a surname, the Christian names being sometimes a little sportive, e.g. 'Piscatrix' and 'Peregrine.' Two were found in one day, one of whom was christened 'Newman,' possibly from Newman's Court, which exists to this day.

In a will dated October 4, 1612, John Harvey, 'Minister of the Word of God,' made this bequest :

I give to John Chantrell, Min. of S. Michaels, Cornhill, £4 which he oweth me.

¹ 1624. Taylor's *Pastorall*, D. 3.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

John Chantrell may have been curate. His name is not in the list of rectors. The legacy must have been meant either as a reproach or a conscience-soother.

S. Peter-
upon-
Cornhill

The Church of S. Peter-upon-Cornhill lays claim to be the oldest church in London and the original seat of the Primate of all England. A tablet preserved in the church (Stow says by 'a late hand') states :

Be hit known to all men, that the yeerys of our Lord God, An. clxxjx, Lucius the fyrst Christian King of this Lond then callyd Brytayne, founded the fyrst Chyrch in London, that is to sey the Chyrch of Sent Peter upon Cornhyl : and he founded ther an Archbishop's Sec and made that Church the Metropolitan.¹

There was a similar tablet at S. Paul's. Holinshed (1574) mentions them both and says : 'it should seem that the said Church of Saint Peter in Cornehill was the same that Lucius builded,' though he could hardly have thought that the same building continued to occupy the site. The tablets of brass are alluded to by other chroniclers besides Stow and Holinshed, and are attributed to Ralph de Baldock, Bishop of London 1306-13. There are references to the church in documents as early as the eleventh century, but that leaves a period of 900 years from the alleged foundation in the second. On the authority of Joceline of Furnes Stow gives the name of the Archbishop as Thean, and says that it was he who built the church with the assistance of Ciran, chiefe Butler to King Lucius. Stow adds that in his time (1598) the church was 'not so ancient as fame reporteth,' for it had been 'lately repaired if not new builded, except the steeple which is ancient.' Yet he adds that the roof was finished in the reign of Edward IV, as appears from the arms of some men of note living at that period. An old print of the church dated 1599 shews a Gothic

¹ See Weever, *Funeral Monuments*.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

building with a square tower and having details apparently indicating the fourteenth century. A plate by Hollar shews an additional tower at the south-west corner in S. Peter's Alley, circular in shape and embattled. A chantry was founded in 1328 for the soul of Robert de la Hyde. Henry IV founded a Brotherhood of the Guild of St. Peter's. There was anciently a library in the church, and Sir John Crosby left money under his will for its support. Stow writes: 'Within these fifty years well furnished with books, but now those books be gone and the place is occupied by a School maister.' Elsewhere we read that an important grammar school was attached to the church in quite early times.

The church was burnt in the Great Fire, and but little of the building could be used when it was rebuilt by Christopher Wren. This church, which still stands, is slightly smaller than the old one, as ten feet was cut off the east end, which faces Grace-church Street, and given to widen the street.

The first rector in the London Registry was John Mansyn, who died 1395.

The rectors of this church, by an Act of 1399, were given precedence over all other rectors of City churches.

John Taylor, who was rector in 1536, was afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. He got into trouble at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign for refusing to be present at a Mass. He was one of the committee formed to compile the reformed Common Prayer known as the Liturgy of Edward VI. William Fairfax, rector at the outbreak of the Civil War, was deprived and imprisoned. John Carpenter, the founder of the City of London School, desired in his will to be buried there.

The patronage of the living was originally held by the owner of the manor of the Leaden-Hall. In 1384 Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, held this manor, which in 1408 with the advowson of S. Peter, fell into the hands of Richard Whittington

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and others, who in 1411 transferred the latter to the Mayor and Commonalty of London. The income of the benefice from the Return made in 1636 amounted to £168, exclusive of the Parsonage House, but including £46 from the glebe, which, considering the position in the centre of London, was probably built on.

The following extracts from the church records are of interest :

1579–80. Eight women's pews ordered on the south side of the Church and so many on the north.

1623. The Steeple ordered to be covered and the bells hung up.

1628. The repair of Steeple considered, then much in decay. Agreed that the upper part should be taken down and re-erected in stonework.

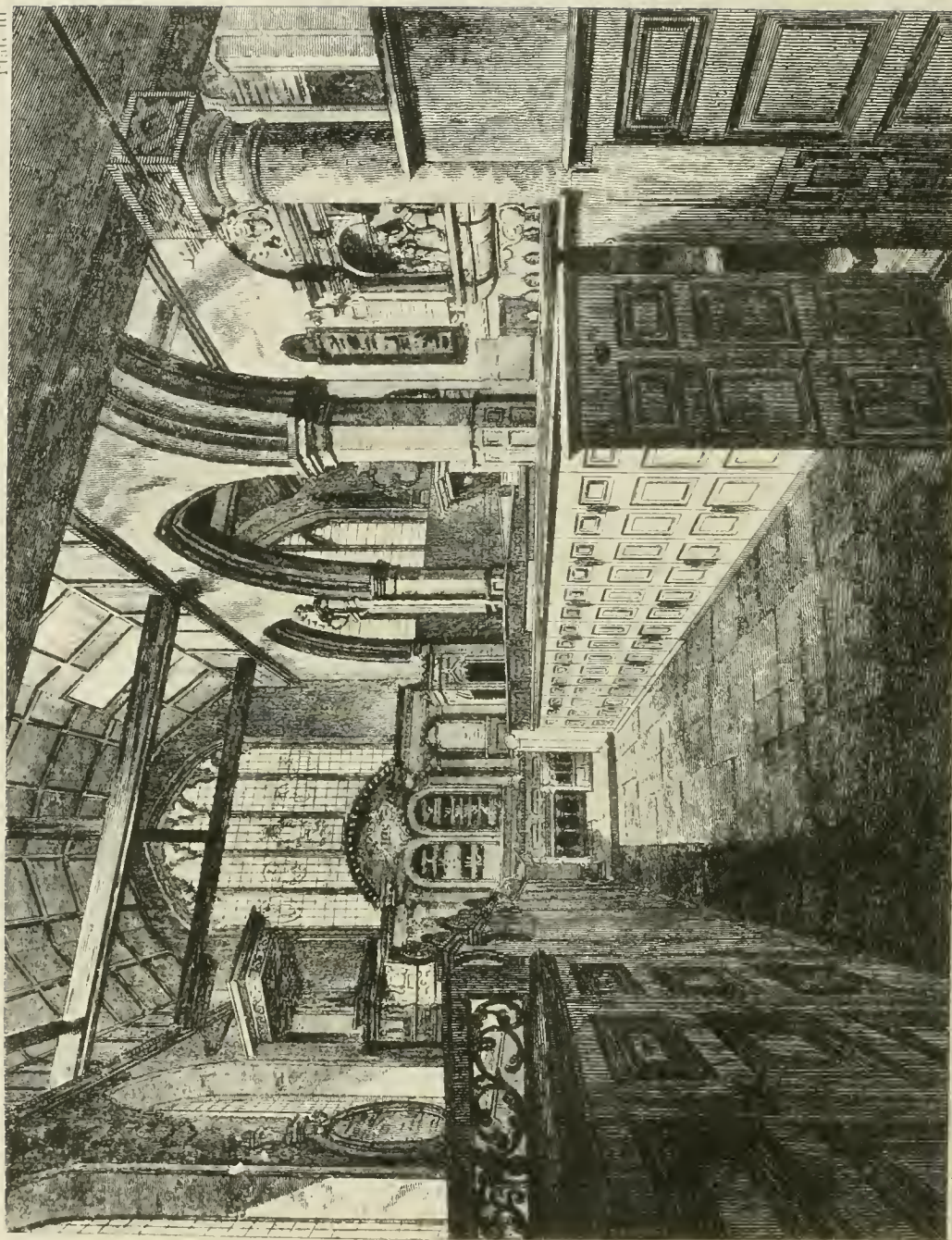
Thomas Nash, writing on the Plague in London in his time, has a reference to this church which is curious and puzzling :

The vulgar menialty conclude therefore that it (*i.e.* the Plague) is like to encrease because a Hearneshaw (a whole afternoone together) sate on the top of S. Peters Church in Cornehill.¹

After the Fire the church was re-erected by Wren and still stands. The lower story of the tower of the old church was able to be used. The steeple still bears, as a finial, a key, the symbol of S. Peter. The organ was built by Father Smith (Bernard Schmidt) in 1681, and cost £210. The key-board, upon which Mendelssohn played, has been preserved.

The close vicinity of the Leadenhall to the Church of S. Peter, Cornhill, reminds us of Sir Simon Eyre, 'Shoemaker and Lord Mayor,' whose was the generous gift to the City of that hall. The career of that 'citizen of renown' may be pleasantly

¹ *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem* (1593), Z 2. Mr. McKerrow, the latest editor of Nash (*Works*, 1910, ii. 172), can offer no explanation. Another portent given by Nash was : 'An Oxe that tolde the bell at Wolwitch.'



Reside of Dr Martin Luther

— *Arabis, subsp. angustifolia*, Boiss. & Heldreich, 1858, *Catal. pl.*

L. R. Ryker del.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

traced in the pages of Thomas Deloney¹ or in Dekker's play of 'The Shoe-maker's Holiday.' Among Simon's many good works, he built in the year 1419 the Leadenhall Chapel: something of a thank-offering for a prosperous career, for he wrote over the porch, 'Dextra Domini exaltavit me.' He endowed it, through the medium of the Drapers' Company, with a donation of 3000 marks. There were to be appointed a master or warden, five secular priests, six clerks, and two choristers. In Edward IV's reign a Fraternity of the Trinity was founded, and every market-day in the afternoon there was a service for market people, and once every year there was a solemn service with procession.

Leaden-
hall
Chapel

(vii)

The Church of S. Martin-Outwich (or Oteswich) stood in Bishopsgate Street at the south-east corner of Threadneedle Street, and, as Stow thinks worthy of mention, was close to 'a fair well with two buckets.' It obtained its second title from the name of four brothers Oteswich—so Stow says—but this is doubtful. The first church must have been built in the twelfth or thirteenth century, the first known Rector being Rafe de Coningrue in 1294. A certain Martin de Oteswich owned land in the parish in 1246 and John de Oteswyche founded a Chantry in 1331.² The advowson was in the hands of Hugh le Despencer in 1305 and since 1405 with the Merchant Taylors' Company. In 1636 the income was £45. There were 'gift sermons' annually. The ministers received 20s., the clerk 5s., the sexton 2s. 6d. It is recorded of a certain Nicholas Wilson, rector in 1537:

S. Martin-
Oteswich

Doctor Nicholas Wilson ys pson ther and his benefice worthe by year 17*l.*, not resydentnor neū founde no priest to serve the cure untyll Michaelmas last past.³

¹ *The Gentle Craft* (1648).

² See *History of the Site of Merchant Taylors' Hall*, by H. L. Hopkinson, 1913.

³ *College and Chantry Certificates*, No. 34. Hennessy.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

The church in the seventeenth century was a building of late Gothic design with a small tower and bell-turret. An eighteenth-century drawing gives a good view of the interior looking east. The nave had one arcade on the south side (no north aisle). The east window of five lights of the *Perpendicular* period. It escaped the Great Fire and was rebuilt by the Merchant Taylors' Company. This later church was removed in our own time, and the Parish annexed to that of S. Helen's.¹

S. Benet,
Grace-
church

S. Benet, Gracechurch (or Grass Church, from the vicinity of the Grass-market),² one of several churches dedicated to S. Benedict, was founded before 1291, and stood at the south-west corner of Gracechurch Street and Fenchurch Street. The old church was burnt in the Great Fire and rebuilt with a tower and spire, the parish of S. Leonard, Eastcheap, being annexed. It has long since disappeared. In the time of the Civil War, 1642, the rector—Quelch—was sequestered for his loyalty; and in the church records is a curious entry in the reign of Queen Mary, 1553:

pd upon May last, to a priest and six clerks for singing of Te Deum and playing upon the Organs, for the birth of our Prince (which was thought then to be) 1. 1. 8.

The lamentable delusion of Queen Mary, resulting from a complaint well known to doctors, gave rise to anticipations of the birth of an heir to the throne, but that reports should be spread that the child was born seems hardly credible. However, Peter Heylyn gives this instance, viz. :

The curate of S. Ann's near Aldersgate, who took upon him after the end of the procession to describe the proportion of the child, 'how fair, how beautiful, how great a Prince it was.'

¹ The Capital and Counties Bank occupies the site.

² Called Benedict de Grescherche in the *Taxatio* of 1291.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

‡ In connexion with this Church of S. Anne a rather scarce tract dated 1641 shews the state of affairs probably common in many churches during the troublous times of the Civil War :

S. Anne-
in-the-
Willows

(Title) True relation of a Combustion Hapning at S. Anne's Church by Aldersgate betweene a stranger sometimes a Jesuite but now thanks be to God reformed . . . and one Marler a Button maker contending which should first preach, the minister being absent.

After a struggle the button-maker got the pulpit and commenced 'to draw out his words like a Lancashire Bagpipe . . . and desired God to give a blessing to all button-makers. . . . He then prayed for the good Society of Cobblers and Tinkers.'

The church alluded to as S. Anne's, Aldersgate, was known as 'S. Anne-in-the-Willows' (possibly from willow trees in the churchyard), and stood at the west end of Gresham Street, formerly S. Ann's Lane, and still earlier, Pope Lane. It was adjacent to S. Martin-le-Grand, the Dean of which was, until the Dissolution, the patron. S. Agnes¹ is added to 'S. Anne' in the title, and a tradition exists that two sisters, Anne and Agnes, built or rebuilt the church. The original church is mentioned in the 'Taxatio Ecclesiastica' of Pope Nicholas, 1291, and called 'S. Agnes *infra Altherisgate*,' the first rector being in 1322. Alan Percy, son of the Earl of Northampton, was rector in 1515.

The church was burnt in 1548, 'so far as it was combustible' (Stow), and was repaired. It contained monuments to Thomas Beckhenton (or Lekhumpton), Clerk of the Pipe 1499; John, Lord Sheffield, 1572. William Gregory, Mayor in 1451, founded a chantry and was there buried.

A curious case is told in the Records shewing how easy it was in those times to become a heretic. I. Bowkyn was accused

¹ There was a Saint Agnes, Virgin and Martyr, whose emblem was a lamb.

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of heresy in 1493. It was alleged that he took hold of a lighted candle and said :

As this candill doyth vaad and goeth out, lykewyse my soole shall goo and assend to hevyn.

The church was rebuilt after the Fire and is still standing, a plane tree keeping up the sylvan tradition.

One or two extracts from the churchwardens' accounts ¹ may be of interest. The parchment-covered folio shews signs of senility and the decay of nature, and portions of the leaves have, like the church's willow, a deciduous tendency. The items given indicate some of the receipts incident on burials ; also some of the minor disbursements that continually have to be made. The year is 1660 :

Item received of M ^r Temple for the knell for his mother			
and for the cloath	00	04	04
Item received for the Cloath for a stranger	00	01	00
Item M ^r Powetts for the burial of his Child in the Church			
and for the cloath	00	10	04
Item received of M ^r King for the ground in the Church for			
a stranger	00	06	08
<hr/>			
Item paid for half a pint of wyne for a minister	00	00	06
Item given to Goody—to help to buy her a Shetle	00	02	00

S.
Gabriel,
Fenchurch

The Church of S. Gabriel, Fenchurch Street, formerly stood in the middle of the street, and was built not later than the fourteenth century. Before 1517 it was known as S. Mary's and some time 'All Saints.' Possibly there was a triple dedication. Corruptly it went by the name of Fen Church and gave a name to the street. The district may have been marshy, for the brook, the Langbourne, went through it,²

¹ From the MS. at the Guildhall.

² Later writers have questioned the existence of this brook.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

and Langbourne Ward is still in evidence. The first rector was John Payne, 1321. The church was a small one, but was enlarged in 1631. In the Return made in 1636 the income of the rectory, including the house, was stated to be £131. This house, with the garden and graveyard, was the gift of H. Legges (49 Edward III). R. Cook, who was rector during the Civil War, was ejected for his loyalty in 1642, but was reinstated at the Restoration.

The church figured in the City decorations on the day of King James I's coronation entertainment. Ben Jonson described it in 1603 :

At Fen-Church the scene presented itself in a square and flat upright, like to the side of a Citie ; the top thereof, above the Vent and Crest adorned with houses, towres and steeples in prospective.¹

The Church of S. Leonard in Eastcheap had the distinction of being one of the thirteen 'Peculiars,'² and had as second title S. Leonard Milkchurch, from one Milker, a benefactor. The church, which had a steeple covered with lead, was in 1618 burnt down and almost destroyed. It was rebuilt, only to be entirely destroyed by the Great Fire fifty years after. It was not again re-erected, and the parish was joined to that of S. Benet, Gracechurch. The church was a rectory under the Archbishop of Canterbury, the first rector being Will. de Tyryngton, who died in 1353, but there is on record the name of Joh. Tanner de Lichfield, who was there in 1348, possibly as priest or curate in charge. Abraham Colf, who was rector during the Rebellion, was forced to resign the living. The patron saint was Bishop of Limogen in the sixth century, and was reputed to have the power of releasing from prison any who invoked him.

S.
Leonard,
East-
cheap

¹ *Works*, folio 1616, p. 843.

² See note to S. Mary-le-Bow.

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S. Dionys
Back-
church

The Church of S. Dionys Backchurch was in Fenchurch Street at the corner of Lime Street. The name of Dionysius—the Areopagite of S. Paul's time—is not usual in church dedications in England, though, as abbreviated to Denis is better known in France, where the Saint, said to have been the first Bishop of Athens, was martyred. The legend is that, having been decapitated, he carried his head for two miles. The earliest rector of this church recorded was Reginald de Standen, 1288. John Warner, who was rector in 1625, was deprived during the Civil War but restored in 1660, and afterwards became Bishop of Rochester. The church is one of the thirteen known as 'Peculiar.'¹ In the sixth year of King Edward VI (1552) a Return was made of church goods (ornaments and vestments), and a large number of them were sold, and the prices obtained, which sometimes appear high, are on record, *e.g.*

Item sould to M^r Donkyns in Cornehill the ij best sute of vestments,
y^e one cloth of goulde and red velvat the other ryche whyght bad-
kyn havyng iiij copes and iij vestments in every sute xl *li*.

Master Donkyns appeared to be a considerable buyer, for he also bought 'the cloth of badkyn callyd care-cloth.' This article was held over the heads of bride and bridegroom at marriage. Forty shillings was the price.²

The church was rebuilt after the Fire, but has been removed for some time. A portion of the churchyard may still be seen.

The following is an extract from the Register shortly after the Fire.

1666-7. M^r Francis Tryon, Merchant, was buried in the ruines of the Chauncell.

¹ See note to S. Mary-le-Bow.

² See *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

(viii)

According to Stow, the Church of S. Stephen, on the west side of Coleman Street, was originally a synagogue (though there are doubts about this); then a parish church; then a chapel of S. Olave Jewry, and in the seventh year of Edward IV (1468) made a parish church. But another account makes it a parish church (vicarage) in 1456, and William Pawle presented in 1457.

S. Stephen,
Coleman
Street

Newcourt gives the names of three earlier vicars, and Hennesy has the name of John de Brian, vicar in 1311. The church is mentioned in 'Taxatio Ecclesiastica' of Pope Nicholas, c. 1291, and there called 'S. Stephan *in judaismo*,' i.e. in the Jewry. Before the suppression of the priories it was in the gift of the Prior and Convent of Butley. In Queen Elizabeth's reign both the impropriate rectory and the right of presentation to the vicarage appear to have been granted to several parishioners, presumably in trust for the parish, and to this day the parishioners elect a new vicar. Anthony Munday, who died in 1633, was buried here. He is well known as editor of a revised edition of Stow's 'Survey,' and as a playwright and translator. The church possessed five of the eight bells formerly belonging to the Priory of Holy Trinity. In a tract of 1643 we read of the funeral here of Sir Richard Wiseman, who it seems had been accidentally killed when offering to lead the rabble who were attacking the Abbey:

His corps was carried to St. Stephens Church in Coleman Street and buried according to a new Church Government lately enacted in a Conventicle of Schismatics, being accompanied with at least 500 Antick Bishops . . . with their swords, mourning cloaks and black ribands.

A broadside of 1641, called *London's Teares*, gives rather a different account. Sir Richard is said to have been murdered

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by Rascals in Westminster Hall. The procession to the City was composed of '200 apprentices.'

In 1636 the entire endowment was only £11 and 'Easter Book' £20. After the Fire it appears the entire income was fixed at £110 in lieu of tithes.

This church, like many others in pre-Reformation times, and possibly afterwards, celebrated Easter Eve with a spectacle in the church, usually known as the Easter Sepulchre.¹ The following extract from the Records shews what was done to stimulate the devotion of the congregation :

Item one sepulchre over gilded with a frame to be set on with 4 posts and crests thereto.

Item 4 angels to be set on with 4 censers.

Item 4 great angels to be set on the sepulchre with divers small angels.

Item 2 stained clothes with the Apostles and Prophets beaten with gold with the Creed.

Item 8 bears beaten with gold to be set about the sepulchre with divers small penons.

Item 4 knights to be set on the posts before the doors.

Item one angel to be set on the doors.²

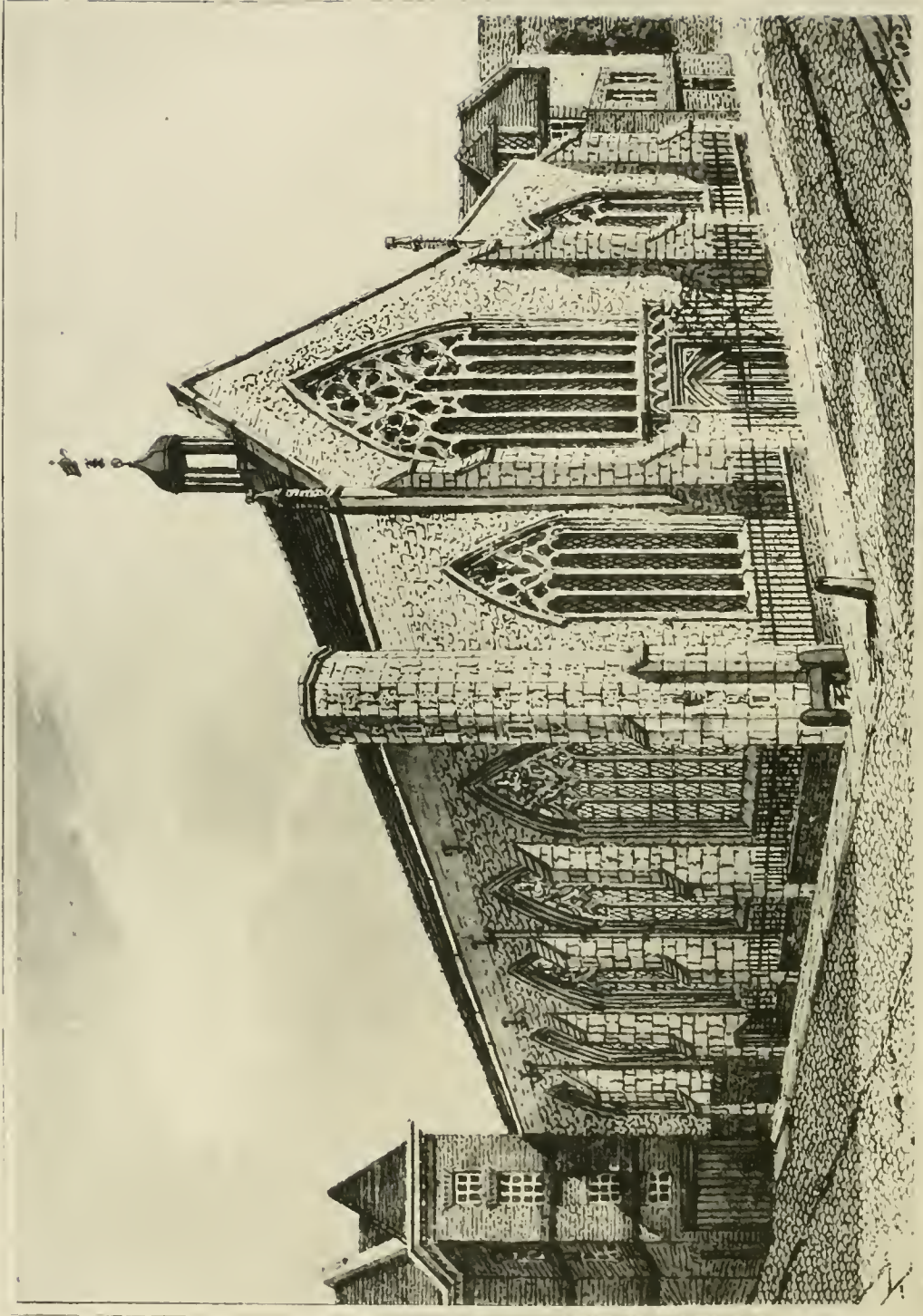
S. Margaret,
Lothbury

There was a church in Lothbury dedicated to S. Margaret as early as the twelfth century, for it is on record that a certain Reginald was priest there about 1181.³ The church was rebuilt about 1440, for Robert Large, Mayor, and seems to have been erected over the Wall-brook which flowed this way towards the Thames, for vaulting over the watercourse is alluded to. The church was in the possession of the Abbey of Barking in Essex until the Suppression in 1540, when the gift of the living went to the Crown. The first rector of the old church was

¹ The custom is still retained in Roman Catholic churches, and the 'Sepulchre,' in which is placed the 'Host,' is decorated with flowers and Mass is said.

² From *Unpublished Records of the City of London*, by Edwin Freshfield.

³ See Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*.



AUSTIN FRIARS CHURCH.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

John de Haslingfeld, 1303. It is on record that from 1543 to 1548:

Sir W^m Read is parsonne of the same church and the yerlie valew of the same ys 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and that no prest is found ther by the said parsonne.¹

Reginald Coleman (whose name survives in Coleman Street) was buried in this church in 1483.

The following is an extract from the Vestry Minute Book:

Recevyd the 9 daye of May anno 1574 by . . . cherche wardens, for that M^r James Style person of the paryshe of Saynt Margarettes in Lothebery dyd mayke a lycence for a gentyllwomen to eate fleshe for viij dayes in Lent last past a cordyng to a statute in Master Dunconnes housse wherefore nowe he hathe payde vjs. viij*d.* for the use of the pore in the same paryshe.²

The church was burnt down in the Fire, and rebuilt, and still remains.

When the great Monastery of the Augustine Friars³ was suppressed the friars disappeared, but, as Stow writes,

Priory
Church
of the
Augustine
Friars

The Friars Church he pulled not downe, but the west end thereof enclosed from the Steeple and Quier was in the yeare 1550 graunted to the Dutch nation in London to be their preaching place.⁴

The choir and steeple of the church have disappeared, but the beautiful Gothic nave of nine bays, dating from the fourteenth century, still remains in good preservation, though slightly out of the perpendicular. The spire, which was high and of unusual beauty and delicate workmanship, remained till 1603.⁵ The two broad aisles have been restored, and the

¹ Hennessy, *op. cit.*

² E. Freshfield, 1887, p. 5.

³ Founded in 1252 by Humphry Bohun, E. of Hereford.

⁴ Stow, *Survey* (ed. 1603), p. 178. See Appendix.

⁵ Possibly longer, for it is figured in Visscher's *Long View*.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

building is still in the occupation of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Dutch respected the ancient monuments, but later there was shameful desecration. Fuller writes :

I had rather Mr. Stow than I should tell you of a nobleman who sold the monuments of noblemen in S. Augustine's Church in Broad Street for a hundred pounds which cost many thousands and in the place thereof made fair stabling for horses.¹

There had been temporary desecration at an earlier date, as we may read in Holinshed's 'Chronicle.'

Neither had they (the Rebels under Wat Tyler) any regard to sacred places for breaking into the Church of the Augustine Friars they drew forth thirteene Flemings and beheaded them.²

Weever gives the names of some men of note here buried :

Here sometime did lie entombed the body of Richd Fitz-Alan Earle of Arundel beheaded on Tower Hill 1395 . . . John Vere Earle of Oxford . . . put to execution 1461 ; Edward Stafford who by the sleights and practises of Cardinal Wolsey . . . was beheaded 1521. . . . Here was interred Edward the eldest son of Edward the Black Prince 1375.³

The printed archives of the Dutch Church body shew some evidence of their method. Public confessions of guilt were made in the church and recorded, *e.g.* [translated] :

13 June 1574. Deacon ——— had deceived several of his brethren in commercial affairs.

12 Sept. 1574. Jan Stel, bookseller, who during the Divine Service had kept his shop open.

29 Aug. 1574 . . . who, near London Bridge, maltreated another woman on account of a debt, etc.

¹ Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State* (1642), liv. The Marquis of Winchester, son of Sir W. Powlett, is here alluded to. His name survives in Great Winchester Street.

² 1587, vol. ii.

³ *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 419.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

In Queen Elizabeth's time it would seem that the church was somewhat secularised, as was the nave of S. Paul's, by its use as a common place of resort where commercial notices might be affixed and read. In a play we read :

At the French or Dutch Church let him set up his bill,
And he shall have chapmen I warrant you, good store.
Looke, what an Englishman bids, they will give us much more.¹

But a few years later we hear of something more scandalous than a mere trade advertisement.

In the Register of the Privy Council, 1593, it is stated :

There have been of late diuers lewd and mutinous libells set up within the Citie of London . . . upon the wal of the Dutch Churchyard.²

Adjacent to the Church of the Augustine Friars, above mentioned, was the Church of S. Peter-le-Poer in Broad Street, S. Peter-le-Poer
'sometime, peradventure a poor parish but at the present there be many fayre houses, possessed by rich marchants and other.' So Stow writes, but he seems to be in error in attributing the name to the poverty of the parish. Fuller's explanation is more likely to be correct, viz. that the name arose from the Augustinian Eremites, who had

if not their first, their fairest habitation at St. Peters-the-poor, thence probably taking the denomination of Povertie (otherwise at this day one of the richest Parishes in the City).

Thomas Lord Cromwell was one of the wealthiest inhabitants, and lived close by in Throgmorton Street. Stow tells of his high-handed action in pulling down his neighbours' fences and

¹ 1576. Geo. Wapull, *The Tyde taryeth no Man*.

² *Register of Privy Council*, Starr Chamber, May 11, 1593. Prof. Boas, in his Introduction to *Works of T. Kyd*, considers that this order has reference to Kyd and Marlowe, who were arrested on a charge of alleged atheism and for stirring up hostility to foreigners peaceably resident in London.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

annexing some of their land to his own use, Stow's own father being a sufferer. Of Cromwell Fuller relates another incident :

Trayterous speeches were also charged upon him spoken in the Church of St. Peters-in-the-Poor (*sic*) ; the avouchers thereof pretending that as hitherto they had concealed them for love of themselves (fearing Cromwell's greatnesse) so now for love of the King they revealed the same.¹

The church, which was an ancient one, founded in the Twelfth century or earlier, was enlarged or rebuilt in 1615, and a new steeple built in 1630, also a gallery and new bells, the total cost to the parish being £1587. Richard Holdsworth, who was rector in 1636, was, in the time of the Civil War, sequestered and imprisoned in Ely House and the Tower. He was a professor of Gresham College, and had refused the bishopric of Bristol, and was afterwards Dean of Worcester. He was in attendance on Charles I while a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and died soon after the King. He was buried in this church.

Robert Crowley the poet was at one time parson here. The church, which escaped the Great Fire, was rebuilt in 1791. An old drawing shews a low, very poor building, with a large clock having gibbet-like supports built out from the church. It was taken down in the last century, and the site is now occupied by an Anglo-American Bank : not exactly an emblem of poverty.

S. Mary
Wool-
church

S. Mary Woolchurch formerly stood near the Stocks Market, which was on the site of the present Mansion House. Stow writes that it was so called ' of a beam pliced in the Church yeard, which was therefore called Wool Church Haw, of the Tronage, or weighing of Woll there used.' ²

The church was built by Hubert de Ria in the time of William the Conqueror. The first rector whose name is recorded

¹ Fuller's *Church History* (1655), Bk. V, p. 232.

² *Survey* (1603), p. 227.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

being William de Hynelond, 1349-50. The patronage was partly with the Crown, and partly with the Convent of S. John the Baptist, Colchester.¹ The church was rebuilt in the 20th year of Henry VI.²

John Tireman, rector in 1641, at the commencement of the Civil War was compelled to retire in consequence of his loyalty. John Bull was preacher during the Protectorate, and was afterwards Master of the Temple. The church was not rebuilt after the Fire, but the parish was annexed to that of S. Mary Woolnoth.

Outside the church was an equestrian statue of King Charles II. The statue of Charles I stood, and still stands, at Charing Cross. In a poem of Marvell's a dialogue is supposed to take place between the two horses in the absence of their riders, and the decadence of the times is discussed. The Woolchurch horse has a liking for Cromwell :

I freely declare it, I am for old Noll :
Though his government did a tyrant's resemble
He made England great and his enemies tremble.

But Elizabeth was the favourite with Charles I's steed :

Ah Tudor. Ah Tudor, of Stuarts enough,
None ever reigned like old Bess in the ruff.³

The statue (Charles II) was originally made to represent John Sobieski, King of Poland. The City, wanting to shew their loyalty, bought it up at a low price, and converted the Polander into a Briton and the Turk underneath his horse into Oliver Cromwell. So the story runs.⁴

¹ So it would appear from Hennessy's list.

² See Newcourt's *Novum Repertorium*.

³ 1674. *A Dialogue between Two Horses* (1870), p. 168.

⁴ This statue has recently been unearthed and is preserved.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

S. Mary Woolnoth

Near by, in Lombard Street, was a church bearing a somewhat similar name (both being attributable to the trade in wool). The first Church of S. Mary Woolnoth, also known as S. Mary of the Nativity, was not later than thirteenth century. It was rebuilt in 1438. Sir Hugh Bruce, mayor, built the steeple and also a chapel called 'The Charnel,' and died in 1496. Sir Simon Eyre, mayor, who built the Leaden-hall, gave to the church 'The Cardinal's Hat,' a well-known tavern. George Lufken built the Chapel of S. George. The church was in early times in the possession of the prioress and convent of S. Helens, but at the surrender the King gave the patronage to Sir Martin Baves, who was mayor, and buried in the church in 1569. His will, dated 1565, provides that he was to be buried in the 'highe quier of this Church.' He left 'forty pounds to be distributed among poor householders upon the day that he shall be in peril of death, whilst yet alive and before the bell toll.' Also 'to the Goldsmiths' Company the sum of thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence to pay for an honest dinner for them at the Goldsmiths' Hall on the day of his burial.'¹ In the Register of Baptisms, November 6, 1558, is the name of Thomas Kyd, the author of the 'Spanish Tragedy.' He is described as 'Son of Francis Kidd, Citizen and Writer of the Courte Letter of London.'

S. Nicholas Acon

In S. Nicholas Lane, Lombard Street, a small portion of the churchyard of the Church of S. Nicholas Acon may still be seen. The church has disappeared. The name Acon or Hakon is probably from an early benefactor. The older spelling is Hacun or Hakon, and is so called in the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas, 1291. The will of a parishioner gives the market price of sermons in the year 1548. Thirteen sermons were to be preached on as many Sundays next after his burial, to be

¹ *Cal. of Wills*, Court of Hustings, ii. 695.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

paid for at the rate of six shillings and eight pence each.¹ The deceased was a draper, not a lawyer. In 1673 the register records the baptism of 'John Nicholas a foundling Child taken up at the Syghen of the Hatt.' In recording the place of burial of a parishioner, 'Under his pew doore' is a frequent entry in the register.

This is not the only church dedicated to this saint, though the reason for the choice by an English founder is not clear. S. Nicholas was born at Patara, in Lycia, and died A.D. 343. He was a bishop, though unwillingly so. The story is that the Bishop of Myra being dead, the other bishops and ecclesiastics decreed that whoever first entered the church should be made bishop. Nicholas being the first, was constrained to accept the nomination. S. Nicholas has been held to be specially the friend of children, and there was an old custom for children to take a part in keeping his festival. By a decree of Henry VIII this custom was abolished. The decree recites that on this and certain other days :

'Children be strangely decked and apparelid to counterfaite priestes, bishopps and women ; and so ledde with songes and daunces from house to house, blessing the people and gatherynge of monye ; and boyes do singe masse and preache in the pulpitt, rather to the deresion than to any true glory of God or honour of his saints, the Kyng's majestie therefore, etc.'²

The church was built in 1084 for the benefit of the Abbey of Malmsbury, and the patronage was with the abbot till the suppression, when it fell to the Crown. We hear of no rebuilding of the church before the Great Fire which destroyed it. The first rector in Newcourt's list is John de Stynayton in 1333, though Hennessy gives a certain 'Master Nicholas' in 1250,

¹ *Calendar of Wills*, Court of Hustings, pt. ii, p. 655.

² *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, iii. 860.

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who may have been priest in charge. It is on record that in 1531 :

Sir Maurice ap Gryffyth ys psonne of the same poche Church and the yerlie valew of the same ys 13*l* 6*s* and that no prest is fond ther by the saide psonne or other to help to serve the Cure but his Curate.¹

Matthew Bennett was rector in 1636 when the church was sequestered.

The church was burnt in the Fire, and the parish annexed to that of S. Edmund King and Martyr.

S. Bartholomew
by the
Exchange

Bartholomew Lane, near the Bank of England, marks the position of the church known as S. Bartholomew by the Exchange. In the time of Henry VII Sir Wm. Capel added a chapel to the church, and was there buried. Either the founder of the chapel or the chapel itself probably suggested Capel Court, still existing. Miles Coverdale was buried in this church, but his body was afterwards removed to S. Magnus. The Vestry Minute Book has some rather curious entries, e.g. :

At a vestrey houlden the xijth daye of October 1607 it was appointed that widdowe Sherbroke shalbe a sercher of dead bodies with widdowe Booth ; and that John Varnham shalbe warden for the poore vagrants.

The church above alluded to was built in 1438 ; but there was an earlier church, for John de Aldeburgh, who died in 1331, is mentioned as being rector, and the church probably belonged to the thirteenth century.

S. Christopher-le-
Stocks

Near by was another church, S. Christopher-le-Stocks, removed when the Bank of England was erected. The name was doubtless from 'The Stocks' set up near by. This punishing machine must have been common. Stow writes that 'Sir William Hampton (Maier, 1472) caused stockes to be set in every ward to punish vagabonds' ; and the Stocks

¹ Quoted in Hennessy's *Novum Repertorium*.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

Market took its name from 'a payre of Stocks, for punishment of offenders,' near S. Mary Woolchurch. Dr. John Pearson, the distinguished author of the 'Exposition of the Creed,' was said to have been rector here at one time, but the Creed Sermons were delivered at S. Clement's, Eastcheap. This is an entry in the Vestry Minute Book :

At a Vesterye holden the 19 of Janũ 1577 It ys agreed . . . to berne s^ten olde papist bookes w^{ch} remayned in y^e vestery.

One could better have understood this action in the next reign : Elizabeth had not the kind of bigotry which would destroy books, possibly of antiquarian interest, even if they contained matter alien to her own religious convictions.

The original church was certainly as early as the thirteenth century, for William de Brun is mentioned as connected with it in 1280 either as rector or priest in charge. 'Re-edified of new'—so Stow says—in 1506 and a steeple built. £20 per annum was bequeathed to the curate 'for ever' to read divine service every morning at six o'clock, and £5 per annum for maintaining lights in the winter. James Crauford, the rector, was in trouble with the Parliament in 1645, and was committed for the alleged utterance of certain words 'touching the Members of the Committee of both Kingdoms.'¹ On July 10 of the same year he was fined £2000 for reporting 'false and scandalous accusations against Mr. Crow, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Solicitor and Sir Henry Vane Jun^r., each of which was to have £500 and Mr. Crauford sent to the Tower.'² The result is not recorded, but it is not probable that such a fine could have been paid by Mr. Crauford. His son, of the same name, succeeded him in the living. The patron-saint of this church, an early martyr, is said to have been of Canaanitish race. The legend of his

¹ *Journal, House of Commons*, vol. iv. pp. 172-3.

² *Ibid.* pp. 212-3. Also Newcourt, *Repertorium*.

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carrying the infant Christ across a stream was a favourite subject for fresco painting, and is to be seen depicted on the walls of many early churches.

In the records of the time of Henry VIII each pew has its price set against it.

S. Edmund
King and
Marty

S. Edmund King and Martyr, in Lombard Street, was the only church dedicated to this saint, who in the Ninth century was King of East Anglia, 'which he governed Christian-like.' He was murdered by the Danes,¹ and S. Edmund's-Bury keeps his memory alive. The old church, called in the Taxation list of Pope Nicholas (1291) S. Edmund de Grescherche, was a rectory in the gift of the priory of Holy Trinity up to the time of the suppression; then of the Crown, and afterwards of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The church was burnt in the Great Fire, but re-built, and the parish of S. Nicholas Acon was annexed.

In 1636 the united income from tithe was £159 16s., but the income in lieu of tithes after the Fire was £180, shewing an increase, as was the case in many parishes.

The first rector was Ioc. de Morren, who died in 1328. During the Civil War, Ephraim, the rector, familiarly called 'Old Father Ephraim,' was so troubled that for peace' sake he gave up the benefice, and died one year before the King.

S. Dun-
stan's
in the East

S. Dunstan's in the East, on the south side of Tower Street, is not so frequently referred to as the church in Fleet Street dedicated to the same saint. Here is a case of penance related in Trussel's 'Life of Henry V' :

The Lady bare-footed . . . went to S. Dunstan's in the East, where at the rehallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the vessells with water, and according to the sentence, shee offered to the Altar an ornament of the value of tenne pounds.²

¹ He was beheaded, and there is a legend that his head was guarded by a wolf.

² Continuation of Daniel's *History* (1636), p. 103.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

Thomas Fuller tells a story of Dr. Childerley, rector of this church, who exhibited his prowess as an athlete in rather an eccentric manner. It seems that one Hackett, an impostor who claimed to be a sort of Messiah, and who boasted that he was invulnerable and that anyone might kill him if he could, was arrested and imprisoned in Bridewell. Dr. Childerley

repaired unto him and proffered to gripe hands with him and try the wrists, which Hackett unwillingly submitted to do. The Doctor fairly twisted his wrists almost to the breaking thereof, but not to the bowing of him to any confession or remorse.

Hackett was subsequently hanged at the cross in Cheapside, blaspheming to the last breath.' ¹

Sir John Hawkins, famous for his discoveries in the West Indies, lived thirty years in this parish, and though he died and was buried at sea, a monument was placed here to his memory.²

The church was built not later than the thirteenth century; possibly earlier. The first rector, so far as any records go, was John de Pretelwelle, who vacated in 1310.³ The church is one of those termed 'Peculiar.'⁴ It was destroyed in the Great Fire, and rebuilt by Wren, with a spire somewhat notable but not so lofty as that of the old church, which in Visscher's Map (1616) appears to be the loftiest in the City, S. Paul's only excepted.⁵

On the same side of Tower Street, near by the above, was the Church of S. Mary-at-Hill, originally built not later than the early part of the thirteenth century. Newly built about 1490, and repaired in 1616. These (the repairs), according to

S. Mary-at-Hill

¹ *Church History* (1655), Bk. IX, p. 204.

² *Magna Britannia*, p. 85.

³ Hennessy's *Novum Repertorium*.

⁴ See note to S. Mary-le-Bow.

⁵ According to Christopher Wren the younger (see his *Parentalia*), the church was only 'repaired and new beautify'd,' though the steeple was rebuilt.

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Newcourt, were well looked after in this church ; ' New trimming was bestowed upon it every third year.' The church was a rectory. The patronage was in private hands, for Richard Hackney presented in 1337, the first rector being Nigellus *dictus* Dalby. But the perpetual advowson was purchased by the parishioners. The income, including the value of the parsonage, was returned at £195. There were two chantries.¹

The church, excepting the steeple, was burnt in the Fire, and rebuilt, and the parish of S. Andrew Hubbard annexed. We are told of an old custom, viz. that on the Sunday after Midsummer day the Fellowship of Porters should attend the service, and that while the Psalms were being read the porters should go up and put their offerings in two basons for the benefit of poor decrepid porters, and in this way aptly fulfil their vocation, which was the bearing of other people's burdens.

Here are two items of payments in the previous century :

Paid to a Vestment-maker for the mendyng of the Blak Copes.²

Paid to Mastyr parson for halowyng of the westements xijd.³

In the year 1536 there would appear to have been acted something of a miracle-play, for in the records there appears an entry :

Item, paid to Wolston ffor makyng of y^e stages ffor y^e prophettes vjd.

Phillip Stubbes, the author of ' Anatomie of Abuses,' lived in the parish, and apparently was married at the church in 1586, though the certificate has the wording : ' To marry at any Church or Chapel in the diocese of London.'⁴ William Patten, historian and Judge of the Marshalsey, dates his ' History of the Expedition into Scotland in 1547,' ' Out of the Parsonage of Saint Mary's Hill in London, 1548.'

¹ Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

² Records, 1477-9.

³ *Ibid.*, 1493-4.

⁴ *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), p. 51.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

S. Margaret Pattens took its second name from the patten-makers, whose trade was located in the parish. However, at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when Stow wrote his 'Survey of London,' 'Pattenmakers of Saint Margaret Pattens lane cleane worne out.' The church was placed at the corner of Eastcheap, and Margaret Pattens Lane, afterwards, as it still is, called Rood Lane, because a rood or crucifix had been placed in the churchyard when the old church was pulled down. This rood was objected to by the parishioners and pulled down and broken in pieces, together with the tabernacle which protected it. The patronage of the living was with the Nevil family up to 1392 (or possibly longer), afterwards with the mayor and commonalty of the City. In the reign of Edward IV the City instituted something like a popular election.

S. Margaret
Pattens

Ordinance by the Mayor and Aldermen that when the Living was vacant, 4 secular clerks of repute approved for their morality and learning should be assigned to nominate 4 persons who should seem most fit for the Cure, each being a professor and Doctor of Sacred Theology or a Bachelor in theology or Master of Arts. The said mayor etc. to elect one of the four.' ¹

In the year 1636 the income was given as £52. John Meggs, rector in 1637, was sequestered during the war, but was reinstated at the Restoration, and seems to have resigned the year after. Edward Hicks who succeeded him had been ejected from a former living as a nonconformist. The church was rebuilt after the Fire, and still stands.²

'London's Lamentations' is the title of a book published in 1670. The author, as we read on the title-page, was

S. Margaret, New
Fish Street

Thomas Brooks, late Preacher of the Word at S. Margarets New-

¹ *City Letter Book*, 18 Edw. IV, 1478.

² The original church is mentioned in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas, 1291.

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Fish-Street, where that Fatal Fire first began, that turned London into a ruinous heap.

Thomas Brooks was Puritan preacher in the time of the Protectorate, but was ejected after the Restoration. 'The Diseases that make a stoppage to England's mercies' was the title of a sermon preached at the church at the beginning of the Civil War (1642). The church was an early one, before 1291, and we find that Roger de Bredefeld was rector there towards the end of the fourteenth century. In the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' (26 Henry VIII) the rectory was valued at £31, 11s. 8d. The income, according to the return of 1636, was £150 per annum. The church, which is sometimes called S. Margaret's, Bridge Street, was not rebuilt after the Fire. The Monument occupies the site.

S. George,
Botolph
Lane

In Botolph Lane, Eastcheap, was one of the few churches dedicated to S. George, the patron-saint of England. It was founded not later than the early part of the fourteenth century, probably earlier.

A chantry chapel was founded c. 1530, 'For the soul of Roger de la Bere.' The first rector was Robert de Haliwell, 1321. The patronage was with the abbot and convent of S. Saviour's, Bermondsey, until the dissolution. The church was rebuilt after the Fire, and took in the parishioners of S. Botolph, Billingsgate. The income in the return made in 1639 is stated to have been £79 per annum. In the reign of Henry VIII a widow, Emma Mounteford, left to the parson and churchwardens, a 'Backhowse' called the 'Signe of the bear,' let at five pounds. In default the property was to go to the Company of 'Barboirrs and Surgeons.' The church no longer stands, but 'George Lane' marks the position.

S. Mary,
Abchurch

S. Mary, Abchurch (or Upchurch, being on slightly rising ground), gave a name to Abchurch Lane. In Joshua Sylvester's

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

Works there is 'An Elegie in commemoration of the vertuous life and godly death of the right worshipfull and most religious Lady, Dame Hellen Branch, who . . . lieth interred in Saint Mary Abchurch . . . 1594':

Such life, such death well ends the well begun
And by the Even the faire dayes praise is won.¹

The church was built, presumably not later than the twelfth century, for the name occurs in a deed of that date: 'Robert the priest of Habechirche.'² Nicholas Wolsye, who died in 1363, was the first rector in the register.³ Simon de Winchcombe founded a chantry in 1383. Mural paintings were not common in churches after the Reformation, but it is said that Isaac Fuller, who painted altar-pieces for Wadham and Magdalen, Oxford, and who died in 1672, painted the walls of this church.⁴ In the return made in 1636 the income was stated to be £93, exclusive of the parsonage. The church was burnt in the Fire, and rebuilt, the parish of S. Laurence Pountney being annexed.

S. Michael's, Crooked Lane, near Thames Street, was one of the thirteen churches called 'Peculiar.' It was the burial place of several Lord Mayors, one of whom, John Lofkin, built the church in 1366:

Worthy John Lovekin, Stock-Fishmonger
Of London, here is leyd,
Four times of this City Lord Maior hee
Was if Truth be seyd.⁵

There was an earlier church not later than the Thirteenth

¹ 1594. 'Monodia,' *Works* (1641), p. 640.

² See note in Kingsford's edition of Stow.

³ Hennessy speaks of a rector termed 'Supervisor' in 1323.

⁴ See a Monograph by G. F. Wright.

⁵ Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments*.

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century, and we read of a chantry founded in 1318, and another in 1321. In 1380 Sir William Walworth built the choir and side chapel, and was buried in the latter in 1385.

Here lieth entombed in a Chappell of his own foundation, Sir William Walworth, Knight, Lord Maior of London, whose manfull prowesse against that Arch- Ribel Wat Tyler and his confederates is much commended.¹

Here is another epitaph quoted by Weever :

Here lyeth wrapt in clay
The body of William Wray.
I have no more to say.

There was a monument to Queen Elizabeth. The author of the inscription evidently considered fractions of a year as a negligible quantity of time :

She ruled England yeeres 44 and more
And then returned to God.
At the age of 70 yeares and somewhat od.²

In the Vestry Minutes of 1662 there appears an entry that 6s. 8d. was bequeathed to the parish clerk that he should every Saturday 'sweepe and make cleane that isle of the Church called the Fishmongers Isle.' Are we to understand from this bequest that the particular part of the church reserved for fishmongers had special need of cleansing, or that the fishmongers who attended the Sunday service were more urgent about cleanliness than the rest of the congregation? The fish-market was near the church. It is possible that 'the aisle' may have been the chapel built by Sir William Walworth, a member of the Fishmongers' Company, whose Hall was in the parish, and that the master and wardens of the Company attended service

¹ Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 410.

² Munday's *Continuation of Stow* (1633), p. 857.

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in the church. Sir William Walworth founded in the church a college of a master and nine priests. His monument was defaced in the reign of Edward VI, but restored by the Fishmongers' Company.

The first rector of the church was John de Borham, who died in 1304. In the return of 1636 the income of the benefice is stated to be £86, 13s. 4d.

In Arnold's 'Chronicle' (early sixteenth century) there is a record of the Visitation of the Church of S. Magnus, situate close to London Bridge. Among numerous items of complaint is the following :

That the Church and Chancel is not repaired in glasing in dyuers places.

Item, that the bookis and vestmentis bien broken and onhonest for the dyuine seruyce.

Item, that many of the priestis and Clerkis often wore foule and unclenly surplesis.

That Dyuers of the priestis and Clarkes in tyme of dyuyne seruice be at tauerns and ale howsis, at fyshing and other trifils, whereby dyuyne seruyce is let.¹

The same author gives the value of the living in 1494 :

The Valew and Stynt² of the Benefice of Saint Magnus at Londõ Brydge, Yerly to the Person . . .

It would seem that the parishioner, besides paying what was termed 'rent,' paid voluntary offerings, and the amounts of both are set forth in a long list—*e.g.* :

Edward Bellowe his rent iiij. li. . . . the offring xiiij. s.

Herry Somer his rent viij. li. . . . the offring xxviij. s.

¹ Richard Arnold, *Customs of London*, c. 1502 (1811), p. 278.

² According to the Oxford Dictionary, 'stent' or 'stynt' means the value of assessment made for the purposes of taxation.

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The costs and charges are appended, one item being 'pristis wagis x. li.,' from which it might be inferred that the 'Person' was not a priest, or at least did not perform the duty.

The clear income of the benefice was £91, 16s. 1½d.¹

Miles Coverdale, 'who,' as his monument tells us, 'spent many years of his life in preparing a translation of the Scriptures,' was rector of this parish in 1564, and is buried in the church. In 1559, the first year of Elizabeth, there was an ebullition of Protestant zeal in the way of image destruction. Strype writes :

On Sep. 16 at St. Magnus at the corner of Fish Street, the Rood and Mary and John were burnt.²

Here is an earlier allusion to S. Magnus in the Fifteenth century at the time of Jack Cade's rebellion :

Now had the Londoners lost the Bridge, and were driven to S. Magnus Corner, but a fresh supplie being come, they recovered the Bridge and droue the Kentish beyond The Stoupe in Southwarke.³

Shakespeare has the incident in 'Henry VI' :

(Cade speaks.) 'Up Fish Streete, downe Saint Magnes Corner, kill and knocke downe and throw them into Thames.'⁴

This is the only City church dedicated to this saint, who suffered martyrdom A.D. 276 under Aurelian. Being at the foot of London Bridge the church was sometimes styled 'S. Magnus ad pontem,' and is so alluded to in the Taxation of 1291, already cited. The tower is prominent in the many views taken from the south side of the river. The following extract

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 224.

² *Annals of the Reformation.*

³ Trussel, *Continuation of Daniel's History* (1636), Henry VI.

⁴ 1592. 2 *Henry VI* (1623), p. 141.

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from Stow's 'Annals' is interesting, though the nature of the contrivance is not quite easy to understand :

This yeare (1582) Peter Morris, a Dutchman, but a free denison, having made an engine for that purpose, conveyed Thamis water in pipes of lead over the steeple of S. Magnus Church at the north end of London Bridge and so into divers mens houses in Thamis Streete, new fish streete &c. and up into the north west corner of Leadenhall.¹

Sir John Davies has an allusion to this :

Three years together in the town hath been
Yet . . . he hath not seen
. . . the new waterwork.²

The first rector until 1323 was Rob. de S. Albano, but the church was of an older date, as it is on record that Hugh Pourt, one of the sheriffs of London, founded a chantry in 1302. The living was in possession jointly of the abbots of Westminster and Bermondsey until the suppression ; afterwards in the gift of the Bishop of London. The church made claim to the offerings received at the chapel of S. Thomas on the Bridge (*q.v.*), and the dispute was settled by payment to S. Magnus of *xxd.* yearly . Succeeding Miles Coverdale as rector was John Young, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor of the University. Cornelius Burges, rector during the Civil War, was chaplain to Charles I and a staunch churchman, but changing his views with the times and preaching the lawfulness of taking up arms against the King, he was in 1643 appointed by the Long Parliament Lecturer at S. Paul's, and received £400 a year, and had the Dean's house settled upon him by Act of Parliament. He became rich, but lost all at the Restoration, and died in poverty. The church was rebuilt after the Fire,

¹ 1615. Stow's *Annals* (Howe's edit.), p. 695.

² Epigram VI.

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and the parish of S. Margaret's, Fish Street Hill, was annexed to it.¹

From S. Magnus on the north side of the Bridge to S. Mary Overies on the south side is but a short walk, and this fine old church should be counted among the City churches, as the authority of the City included the Bridge and a certain area beyond, but as there are other churches on the south side to be noted it will be convenient to take it later on. On the Bridge the chapel which stood in the centre and was dedicated to S. Thomas of Canterbury is worthy of notice. It was built in the early part of the Thirteenth century. As told by Stow :

S. Thomas on
London
Bridge

A mason being Master Workman of the Bridge builded from the foundation the large Chapple on that Bridge of his owne charges, which Chapple was then endowed for two priestes, foure Clearks etc.²

The Company of Bowyers took an interest in this chapel :

'*Ordinacio de Bowyers.*' That every householder of the Craft pay quarterly 3^d. to the common box for the maintenance of a light before 'the Rode and Seint George' in the Chapel of S^t. Thomas on London Bridge.³

Stow says the chapel was turned into a dwelling-house and afterwards removed ; but an engraving, dated 1747 and bearing the arms and name of Howard, Earl of Norfolk, shews the interior of two chapels, one over the other, with Gothic windows looking on the river. There are figures, one apparently the City surveyor in costume of the period of Chaucer, and two assistants habited as in the time of the Georges, the one holding a plan and the other measuring the floor with a rule.⁴

¹ For a sermon preached in S. Magnus in 1507, Thomas Bilney was charged, and eventually condemned and burnt in a place called 'The Lollards' Pit,' Without Bishopsgate. See Cox's *Magna Britannia*.

² *Survey* (1603), p. 23.

³ *Calendar of City Letter Books*, 3 Henry VII.

⁴ In Brit. Mus. 3540 (2).

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The 'Church of S. Peter, West Chepe,' stood at the corner of Wood Street, Cheapside, and was not rebuilt after the Fire. The well-known tree in Cheapside marks the spot, and a small piece of the churchyard remains. It was also sometimes called S. Peter-at-the-Cross, being opposite the famous Cross which stood in the middle of the street, and was at one time an object of pride and veneration, and at a later period the object of execration and many riots, until pulled down and burnt by the mob. The date of the ancient church is uncertain, but there would appear to be a reference to it in 1231. In the 'Liber Albus,' 15 Henry III, one Geoffrey Russel is mentioned as having been present when a certain Ralph Wryvefuntaines was stabbed in the churchyard of S. Paul's, and being afraid of being accused fled for sanctuary to the Church of S. Peter. The Church of S. Peter, Cornhill, has been claimed as being the one referred to, but the Cheapside church is much nearer to S. Paul's, and appears to be the one indicated.¹

S. Peter,
West-
Cheape

An inventory of church possessions in the year 1431 had this malediction attached to it :

That who so ev' p'loynes it away
he shall have Crystis curse for ay.²

A chantry was founded in 1361 by Nicholas Faringdon, a man of mark, being four times mayor. The Faringdons were an old family, and the street bearing their name is still in evidence. Thomas Wood, goldsmith and sheriff, is credited with having, in 1491, restored or rebuilt the roof of the middle aisle, the structure being supported by figures of woodmen. Hence, so tradition says, came the name of the street, 'Wood

¹ See art. in *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iv. 301.

² *Ibid.*, 12 April, 1869.

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Street.' Sir John Shaa (or Shaw), who died in 1503, left money to rebuild the church.

I wyll that my sayd executors shall cause the sayd Church of Sant Peter to be bylded and made w^t a flatte rooffe. And also the Stepull ther to be made up in gode and couenient man^r.¹

On the day of Queen Elizabeth's royal progress from the Tower to Westminster, Cheapside was not behindhand in loyal demonstration. 'The passage of our most drad Souereign Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the citie of London the daye before her coronacion,'² was a festival to the Church of S. Peter, Cheapside. We read in the contemporary account :

Uppon the porche of Saint Peters Church dore, stode the waites of the Citie which did give a pleasantt noyse.

It was at a later period and in very different times, when Archbishop Laud was at the full height of his power, but not so long before his own time of trouble came, that a rector of this church appeared to be in some disgrace on a question of church discipline. The archbishop wrote to King Charles :

Mr. Daniel Votyer, Rector of S. Peters in Westcheap, hath been likewise convented for divers inconformities and promised Reformation.³

S. Mary,
Alder-
mary

The Church of S. Mary, Aldermary, was in Candlewick Street, and the new Queen Victoria Street has made the present church more prominent than was the old one. Stow thinks this church was so named because it was 'elder than any Church of St. Marie in the Citie.' It has been suggested that the 'Other Mary' of the Gospels was the saint to whom this church was dedicated, '*Sancta Maria, altera Maria.*'

Whether Stow was right or wrong in thinking the name indi-

¹ His will as quoted in *Lond. and Midd. Arch Soc. Trans.*

² Contemporary Account (1558), c. ii.

³ 1639. Archbishop Laud's Account to the King.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

cated great age, the original church was built certainly not later than the thirteenth century, for it is on record that Ernest de Berket was rector in 1233-34. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the church was in a ruinous state, and rebuilding was necessary. Thomas Fuller writes in his 'Worthies':

Henry Keble, Lord Maier of London, 1511: who besides other benefactions in his life-time, re-built Alder-Mary Church, run to very ruines, and bequeathed at his death a thousand pounds for the finishing thereof. Yet within sixty years after his bones were unkindly, yea inhumanely, cast out of the vaults wherein they were buried, his monument plucked down for some wealthy person of the present time to be buried therein.¹

The church is supposed to answer this reproach in rhyme:

Alas! my innocence excuse.
My Wardens they did me abuse
Whose avarice, his ashes sold
That goodness might give place to gold.

In 1534 the parson of this church lost his life in the affair of 'The Maid of Kent.' We read in the 'Chronicle of the Grey Friars':²

Thys yere was the mayde of Kent with the Monkes freeres and the Parson of Aldermary, draune to Tyborne, and there hangyd and heddyd . . . the Monkes burryt at the Blacke freeres. . . . The holy mayde at the Gray freeres, and the parsone at his Church Aldermary.

Henry Keble's work did not include, so we may presume, the erection of a new tower, for this was done in 1626 at the cost of Mr. Radoway, who stipulated that it 'should follow the antient pattern and go forward and be finished according to the foundation of it laid 120 years before by Sir Henry Keble.'

¹ 1662. C. xi. p. 33.

² Ed. 1852, p. 37.

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The cost was £1000, and the work was sound, for Newcourt says, alluding to the Great Fire of 1666, 'After the Fire it still stands firm and good.'

Richard Chaucer, vintner, father of Geoffrey Chaucer, was buried here in 1348. Payne Fisher, in his 'Catalogue of Tombs,' speaks of him as 'Founder.'

The church was one of the thirteen known as 'Peculiars.' By the return made in 1636 the income of the rectory was given as £193.

To refer again to the subject of foundlings: two other cases may be cited from the register of S. Mary Aldermary:

Thomas Aldermary a child which was left in this Parish upon a stall in Watling Streete . . . was baptized the 8th of March and supposed to be a month old or therabouts.

Mary Aldermary a child was left in a pewe in the Church at a finurall.¹

After the Great Fire the church was rebuilt by Wren, and is said to be a copy of the old church.² In the interior the stone groining and fan-tracery of the roof is in the character of the Tudor period of Gothic, and we may presume is copied from the church of 1510. The tower stood for a time after the Fire, but most of it had to be taken down and rebuilt; but it would appear that the present tower stands on the foundations of Keble's church, if not on those of the still older one.

S. Mary
Magdalen,
Milk Street

On the east side of Milk Street, Cheapside, at the south end, was a small parish church dedicated to S. Mary Magdalen. Apparently the church was an early one of the twelfth century, for it is on record that one called William the Vicar ministered there in 1162. Stow gives no dates earlier than the fifteenth century. William Cantlow, a merchant of the Staple, added a

¹ Register, 1658 (1880), pp. 97-98.

² The younger Wren, in writing on his father's churches, says the lower part of the tower was repaired; the upper part rebuilt. See *Parentalia*.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

chapel, and was buried there in 1495. Four Lord Mayors were buried in the church, which in the Great Fire was burnt down and not rebuilt, the parish being annexed to that of S. Laurence, Jewry. The church is briefly alluded to in a seventeenth-century biography:

Wandering about to find a more orderly and more convenient place to heare and worship God, I one Sunday morninge stept into Milk Streete Church . . . there was room enough, very few in it. . . . There I heard Mr. Farrington that excellent schollar and preacher.¹

Sir Thomas More was born in this parish—so says Thomas Fuller in his 'Worthies of England'—and he plays on the word, as indeed More himself would have done, *more suo*:

Sir Thomas More was born in Milkstreet, London (the brightest star that ever shined in that *Via lactea*).

The small and not important church of S. Antholin has frequent mention. The church, the successor to which has in our own day been removed, stood in Budge Row. The name of S. Anthony was corrupted to Antholin, and moreover abbreviated in familiar dialogue to 'Antlin.'² The church owed its reputation to vigorous Protestantism and sermons in the early hours of the morning, announced by bell-ringing. In fact, S. Antlin's bell was a byword. Henry Machyn's Diary (1559) records the commencement of these sermons: the date is noticeable, being the second year of Queen Elizabeth. In the previous reign they would not have been tolerated. S. Antho-
lin

The — day of Sept be-gane the new mornyng prayer at Sant Antholyns in Boge-Row, after Geneve fassyon. The Bells begyne to ryng at V in the mornyng, men and women all do syng and boys.³

¹ C. 1647. *Autobiog.*, Sir J. Bramston (1845), p. 91.

² S. Antoninus appears in the Taxation of 1291, already cited.

³ *Diary of H. Machyn*, 1550-63.

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In the 'Roaring Girl' we read :

Sh'as a tongue will be heard furthur in a morning than St. Antlins bell.¹

In another play :

She will outpray a Preacher in St. Antlin's and divides the day in exercise.²

And in Richard Brome's 'The Damoysselle' :

We'll find Lecture times
Of baulk St. Antlins for't the while.³

It would appear that the women are talking of attending lectures by a certain 'Damoyssell' that professeth the teaching of Court carriage and behaviour.

In William Cartwright's 'The Ordinary' :

We shall grow famous, have all sorts repair
As duly to us as the barren wives
Of aged Citizens do to St. Antholins.⁴

It is rather curious to note that the two last-mentioned plays were published only a few years before the Restoration, at a time when all play-acting was prohibited, but we are not surprised to find in 1661 a different note struck in 'The Presbyterian Lash,' which was something in the nature of a play :

Your own time is so extreemely taken up in preparing and fitting yourself to cart forth sedition at St. Antholins.

The words are addressed in the dedication to Zach. Noctroffe, a hypocritical preacher who got into trouble for chastising his maidservant with a birch.⁵

¹ Middleton and Dekker (1611), II, i.

² Jasper Mayne, *City Match* (1639), III, v.

³ *The Damoysselle* (1653), III, ii.

⁴ (1651) I, iv.

⁵ *Presbyterian Lash* (1661), p. 1.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

It is of interest to note that in the play of 'The Puritan Widow'¹ two of the characters, serving-men, are respectively named 'Nicholas St. Antlings and Simon St. Mary Overies,' another instance of naming foundlings after the parish.

The early preachings were supported by a trust fund, which still exists and produces over £500 per annum, administered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The church being removed—a tablet marks the spot—the sermons are preached elsewhere. The memorial now placed on the site has a sculpture in relief of the last church, which was built by Wren the year after the Fire.

The church was an early one, as it is on record that a certain William was rector or priest in charge in 1181. Stow gives no early dates, but states that the church was 'lately re-edified'² by Thomas Knowles, twice mayor and Thomas his son. Both were buried in the church. The father's epitaph, moreover, records :

And for he should not lie alone,
Here lieth with him his good wife Joan,
They were together sixtie yeare,
And nineteen children they had in feere.

An extract from the churchwardens' accounts in 1585 gives information as to funeral expenses :

Received of John — for breaking the Churche Grounde for his childe, iijs.

Received for the knell of his childe ijs.

S. Clement's, Eastcheap, at the south end of Clement's Lane, no longer fronts the street bearing the historic name of Eastcheap, as the west end of that street was cut off when King

S. Clement's, Eastcheap

¹ 1607. At one time attributed to Shakespeare.

² About the middle of the Sixteenth century. Visscher's Map, 1618, shews it with a square tower and four pinnacles.

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William Street was constructed. The church was very nearly opposite the old 'Boar's Head Tavern.' It appears as S. Clement in Candelwikstrete in the list of Pope Nicholas, 1291, already cited. The name of Stephen de Southlee is on record as having officiated there in some capacity in 1309-10.¹ A chantry was founded in 1370. Richard Mockett, who was rector in 1610 and a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, wrote '*De Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*,' published in 1616, but the work had such a strong Calvinistic bias that it was condemned and publicly burnt. It did not die, but was republished in 1683. In the returns made in 1636 the income of the church was put at £56, 13s. 4d. It was burnt in the Great Fire, and rebuilt, the parish of S. Martin Orgar being then annexed.

S. James,
Garlick-
Hythe

The old church of S. James, Garlick-Hythe, was on the north side of Thames Street. As to the second title, Stow writes:

Called at Garlick hith or Garlicke Hiue, for that of old time on the banke of the riuer of Thames, neare to this Church, Garlicke was usually solde.²

'Hithe' always denotes a landing-place. Worcester Place still exists close by, and is the nearest approach to the river. This is a reminiscence of 'Worcester House,' which Stow says was in Anchor Lane. In the old church there was a monument to a Countess of Worcester, who doubtless was a parishioner. The first rector on the registry was Thomas de Coventrie, who died in 1331.

Arthur Buckley, rector in 1531, was promoted to the bishopric of Bangor. Of him a story is told that he sold five bells of his cathedral, and that after seeing three of them shipped off by sea he was suddenly stricken with blindness. In the Civil

¹ Hennessy. Newcourt gives the first rector as Simon de Heghaw, 1332.

² *Survey* (1603), p. 250.

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War time (1642) Richard Freeman, then rector, was, for his loyalty (otherwise known as malignancy), sequestered and, it is said, plundered. The church was burnt in the Fire, and afterwards rebuilt by Wren. Fortunately the parish registers and churchwardens' accounts were preserved. A few extracts will be of interest and are suggestive of the rapid tergiversation in church matters which took place on the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558. For example. In 1555 £4, 13s. 4*d.* was paid for a rood, but shortly after 1558 we find a rood is being purchased from an adjoining parish and converted into pews!

Other entries are :

1555. Palms for Palm Sunday 6*d.* Palm Cake and Flowers 2*d.* Setting up Sepulture, 4*d.*

1558. Franckincense at Easter 1*d.* Water for the font at Whitsunday 2*d.* 2 doz. garlands for S. James's day 21*d.*

1559. 'Pricked Songs' for the Choir. [An early form of notation for vocal music.]

S. Michael, Paternoster Royal or Tower Royal, was founded before 1291, but was rebuilt about 1400 and a college founded by Sir Richard Whittington of civic fame, he having been four times Lord Mayor. This Richard Whittington, to quote Stow,

S. Michael,
Tower
Royal

was in this Church three times buried, first by his executors . . . then, in the reign of Edward the Sixth the Parson of the Church thinking some great riches to be buried with him, caused his monument to be broken, and in the reign of Q. Mary, the Parishioners were forced to take him up and lap him in lead as afore to bury him the third time.¹

Thomas Mountague was vicar of the church on the accession of Queen Mary, and, as he tells us in his autobiography, had the boldness to continue to read the service

¹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), pp. 244-5.

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from the Prayer Book of Edward VI, which was an abomination to the Queen :

The next Sundaye after [the Coronation of Q. Mary] Thomas Mountagu, parson of Sent Myhellys in the towere ryall, otherwysse callyd Wythtyngeton College—dyd ther mynstere al kyend of servys accordynge to the godly order than sett forthe by that moste grasyus and blessyd prence Kynge Edward the syxte.¹

Whittington's College of Priests was dissolved in Henry VIII's reign. The present College Hill is a reminiscence. 'Royal' is said to be a corruption of 'Rioler,' a lane adjoining the church bearing that name. The wine merchants in the locality (the Vintry) traded with the town of La Rioler, near Bordeaux. Stow, however, calls the church S. Michael in the Royal, alluding to the

'Tower Royall' of old time the King's house . . . but sithence called the Queenes Wardrobe.

The name 'Tower Royal' still survives in a short street near at hand.

The church is one of the thirteen known as 'Peculiaris.'

Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, granted the licence for the college in 1424. Masters of the college were to be rectors of the church. Every master, besides the customary stipend of the living, received ten marks, and every chaplain eleven ; clerks and choristers were paid in addition. Maintenance was provided for thirteen poor people. The college was suppressed in the reign of Edward VI, but not the almshouses. The income from the church was £42, and £13 for special sermons. The first rector was Hugo de Derby, 1283. The first master W. Brooke, 1424. Richard Smith, master in 1537, was

¹ *Autobiography* (1553), Camden Soc., p. 179.

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a man of some mark. Being prominent as a champion of the Roman cause in Edward VI's time, he was obliged to retire in favour of Peter Martyr ; but in Queen Mary's reign he was restored to the mastership and to his Oxford professorship, and made chaplain to the Queen. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he lost all his preferments, but is heard of afterwards at Douay, and is much belauded by the old Catholic party. The church was destroyed in the Great Fire, but rebuilt, and still stands, the adjoining parish of S. Martin Vintry being annexed.

The Church of S. Martin in the Vintry stood on the north-
side of Thames Street, at the corner of Royal Street, now called **S. Martin
Vintry** College Hill. The church had an alternative name of 'S. Martin de Beremand,' or 'Baremanness,' the etymology of which is obscure. It was, according to Stow, 'newly builded about the year 1399 by the executors of Mathew Columbars, a stranger borne, a Burdeaux Marchant of Gascoyne and French wines.'

The neighbourhood seemed to be dedicated to the wine trade and the Hall of the Vintners Company was and is still there. The legend of the saint dividing his cloak with a beggar is a cherished tradition with the vintners, and Cloak Lane adjacent is probably a reminiscence of the story. The seal of the Company shews the saint on horseback, using his sword to divide the cloak. Why S. Martin of Tours was selected as patron of the Company does not appear. Pennant suggests that perhaps 'it was imagined that actuated by good wine, he had been inspired with good thoughts which, according to the arguments of Jas. Howell, producing good works, brought a man to heaven.'

The earliest church dated from the eleventh century. Sir John Gisors, mayor 1311, and constable of the Tower, was buried there, and a chantry founded to his memory. He lived in a

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large house built against the church and called 'The Vintry.' In the return made in 1636 the income of the rectory was stated to be £122. The first rector was William de Norwico, 1319. John Lesley, rector during the Civil War, a prominent man in many ways. He was promoted to a Scotch bishopric, and gave the King more than moral support, as he raised a company of Foot at his own charges. He died in 1671 at over 100 years of age. His successor was Bruno Ryves, who wrote 'Mercurius Rusticus,' a well-known book on the Civil War. The church was not rebuilt after the Fire.

(x)

Two churches are dedicated to S. Lawrence, whose symbol is a gridiron, which traditionally was used to enhance the pain of his martyrdom.

S. Lawrence
Jewry

S. Lawrence Jewry is near to the Guildhall, abutting on the courtyard. The original church dated from the thirteenth century, the first rector being Hugo de Warknethby, 1295 ; the first vicar William de Lillingstone, 1332.

Robert Crowley was vicar of S. Lawrence Jewry in 1576-8. He wrote a metrical version of the Psalms which he himself printed, as he also did a version of the 'Vision of Piers Plowman.' His quarrel with Archbishop Parker on the surplice question is mentioned in connection with the Church of S. Giles, Cripplegate, of which he was vicar in 1565 (see p. 206). During part of the reign of Queen Mary Crowley was out of England, but returned on her death. According to Hennessy he was appointed Prebendary of S. Paul's in 1563 but was deprived in 1566. In 1563 he was Rector of S. Peter-le-Poer.

The following quotation shews that in the reign of Henry VIII the Church of S. Lawrence Jewry was allowed to be used for academical lectures by a layman, whose strong personality,

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distinguished talents, and unhappy fate will never be forgotten :

He [*i.e.* Sir Thomas More] read for a good space a publique Lecture of *S. Augustine de civitate* in the Church of S. Laurence in the Old Jewry whereunto resorted . . . all the chiefe learned in the Citty of London.¹

In the next century under Puritan ascendancy we note signs of the times in lectures of a different order :

Vindiciae Legis : or a Vindication of the Morall Law and the Covenants from the Errours of Papists, Arminians, Socinians and more especially Antinomians. In xxix Lectures preached at Laurence-Jewry. By ANTHONY BURGESS, Preacher of God's Word.²

Burgess was a nonconformist who held a living, and was ejected in 1662.

The times were conducive to much shifting of opinions, and the career of many clerics was chequered. Sir Geffray (or Godfrey) Bullen, an ancestor of Queen Anna Bulleyn, was buried here.

Edward Reynolds during the Civil War became a Covenanter, and was the pride and glory of the Presbyterian Party. Yet we find him eventually Bishop of Norwich (1660) ; 'leaving his quondam brethren to Shift for themselves.' (This is Newcourt's comment.) Seth Ward who succeeded him as vicar was eminent as a mathematician and astronomer. He was professor of the latter at Oxford, and a member of the Royal Society. Afterwards Dean and Bishop of Exeter. The next vicar, John Wilkins, had a somewhat similar career. He took the covenant at the beginning of the Rebellion ; became warden of Wadham College (a loyalist being ejected) ; married Robina, a sister of Oliver Cromwell, and was elected Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. But at the Restoration he was ejected, and became

¹ W. Roper's *Life of Syr Thomas More* (1626), p. 3.

² Title (1646).

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a preacher at Gray's Inn. He was a prebendary of S. Paul's, and in 1668 Bishop of Chester. He too had a taste for astronomy and mathematics, and was a member of the Royal Society. The return in 1636 gives the income of the living at only £20 per annum. The church as rebuilt has a gridiron for weathercock. S. Lawrence, the patron-saint, was said to have been martyred in the reign of the Emperor Valerian by being broiled alive upon a gridiron.

S. Lawrence
Pountney

The Church of S. Lawrence Pountney was near Candlewick Street (now Cannon Street), on the south side, and took its second title from the name of the founder.¹

John Taylor, the Water Poet, has this reference to the church, which before the Fire was conspicuous by the height of its spire :

Anno 1336 Sir John Paltney the fourth time Lord Maior, he built a Chappell in Paul^s, where he lyes buried : he also built Saint Laurence Paltney Church and the Church of little Alhalowes . . . besides many other deeds of Charity. Many of these men did good and charitable deeds but they did them secretly in their liues time.²

The above-mentioned chapel is, presumably, the one alluded to in Starkey's 'Letters.'

He [*i.e.* Thos. Starkey] had been named on the 30th Dec. 1536 to the Collegiate Chapel of Corpus Christi in connection with the Church of St. Laurence, Candlewick Street.³

The church is briefly alluded to in Shakespeare's 'Henry VIII' :

The Duke being at the Rose, within the Parish of Saint Laurence Poultney.⁴

¹ It is alluded to as S. Laurence in Candelwik in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas, 1291. See also Rymer's *Fœdera*, Syllabus, p. 266.

² *Works* (1630), p. 55.

³ E.E.T.S., p. lxiii.

⁴ 1623, I, ii.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

At the Government inquiry in the year after the Great Fire, an eye-witness gave evidence of supposed incendiarism :

I saw the Fire break out from the inside of Lawrence Pountney Steeple, when there was no fire near it.¹

The college in connection with the 'Chapel of *Corpus Christi*' appeared to be under the control of twelve chaplains, for they were the patrons, and presented the master who had the cure of the church. This college was surrendered in the reign of Edward VI, and sold by the King to Sir John Cheke, his tutor. A monument in the church has an epitaph in doggerel on a lady of varied accomplishments :

Her virtues were manifold and her
Acquirements exclusive,
She wrought all needle-works that women exercise
With pen frame or stool all pictures artificial
Beasts, birds, flowers etc.

.
The goodly practise of her science musical
In divers tongues to sing
And play with instruments
Both Vial and lute and also Virginal.
Latin and Spanish and also Italian
She spake, writ and read, etc.

William Latymer, master, acting in conjunction with John Hooper, in the third year of Edward VI, complained of Bonner, Bishop of London, for leaving out of his sermon at Paul's Cross the Articles of the King's Authority, and for neglect in his pastoral duty, for which Bonner was prosecuted and deprived of his bishopric. But on the accession of Queen Mary we find Bonner restored to favour, and by presentation of the Crown Richard Archbold was appointed rector of this church, '*cum*

¹ *Somers Tracts*, Fourth Collection, ii. 15.

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Ecclesia omnium Sanctorum Super Solaris, otherwise 'All Hallows the Less' (which was built upon vaults). Newcourt, however, says that John Cheke was rector in the first year of Edward VI. Latymer afterwards became one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains and Dean of Peterborough. The church was not rebuilt after the Fire, but the churchyard still remains, and is full of trees.

Guildhall Chapel

The college or chapel (for it was called both) in Guildhall was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to S. Mary Magdalen, and to All Saints, and is said to have been built about 1300, though Newcourt gives the year 1368 as the date of the Charter of Foundation. Stow gives the year 1353 as the date of the foundation 'of the Colledge in Guildhall Chappell,' and names two founders, viz. Adam Francis, Mayor, and Henry Frowike.¹ There seem to have been a custos and four chaplains, and the stipend paid to each was, in the reign of Richard II, stated to be £12, 18s. 6d. For these payments many prayers were to be offered up and Masses sung, not only for the founders and their relatives, but for the King and Queen, the Bishop of London, the Lord Mayor and sheriffs. The surplus of income² was to be kept in a chest at the Guildhall, having three locks and keys. In the reign of Henry VI the chapel was pulled down, rebuilt and enlarged, and was made over to the Guild of S. Nicholas, who were to keep two chaplains and provide for seven alms-people. Things were changed in the reign of Edward VI, and the chapel came under the control of the Mayor and Corporation and was used for a weekly service. In the reign of James II—the chapel then, we may presume, having been rebuilt after the Fire—a time when nonconformity was illegal, Bishop Burnet tells us :

The King signified to the Lord Mayor that he might use what form of worship he liked best in Guildhall Chapel. The design in this was to

¹ *Survey* (1603), p. 516.

² So Newcourt says, but it is not clear how a surplus could accrue.

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engage the dissenters to make the first change from the established worship : and if a presbyterian Mayor should do this in one year, a popish Mayor might do it in another,¹

and at the same time the last Stuart king pose as the promoter of a wider religious toleration than existed in the time of his father and grandfather.

An old engraving shows the exterior of the chapel. Over the entrance door is a large Gothic window of seven lights in the late Perpendicular style. There are three figures in niches with canopies of classical character.

The Church of S. Stephen, Walbrook, originally stood on the west side of the street ('nearer the Brooke, even on the Banke,' so Stow says), not on the east on the site occupied by the present church as rebuilt by Wren after the Fire. Little is known of the early Norman church, but there is evidence of the patronage being with the abbot and convent of S. John at Colchester about the year 1096. The church was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, Sir Robert Chicheley (Lord Mayor in 1421) having given a site on the east side of the street where the present church stands, and laid the foundation-stone in the year 1439. The patron was at that time Sir Robert Whitingham. The church was late Gothic of the 'Perpendicular' period. There was a nave with clerestory, two aisles, choir and Lady Chapel, and chapel in honour of SS. Nicholas and Katherine. Henry Chicheley, brother to Sir Robert, was rector of the old church in 1396,² but before the new church was built had obtained preferment, having been consecrated by the Pope himself as Bishop of S. Davids, and in 1414 he was Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas Southwell was first rector of the new church in 1428. Thomas Howell, who was rector in 1635, was forced to leave in the early part of the Civil War, and was appointed

S. Stephen,
Walbrook

¹ Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, James II, Bk. IV.

² Hennessy gives the earliest rector as Hugh de Marney or Marinis, 1315, but the earliest name on the register as quoted by Newcourt is Thos. Blundell, 1350.

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by Charles I Bishop of Bristol. Going back to the early times of the old church the Coroners' Roll for 1278 records that William le Clerk met with his death in the belfry. It seems that on a Sunday he had ascended the belfry to search for pigeons' eggs, and that while climbing among the beams he fell on one of them, and 'the whole of his body was ruptured and crushed.' We are informed that the beam was injured, and it 'was appraised at four pence,' and two neighbours nearest to the church were attached to see the fine or deodand¹ paid.

The church underwent repair in the early seventeenth century. As already remarked, at that period there was no feeling for the beauty of ancient building, but the citizens would provide money, sometimes liberally, to have their parish church 'beautified' or 'trimmed,' painted, coloured, and perhaps gilded. Howe, who continued Stow's work in 1615, wrote :

But above all the Churches in London St. Stephen's in Wallbrooke was trimmed most curiously and Church-like, for all the decayed windows were pleasantly repaired with new coulloured Glasse.

Inventories of valuable church property, both of the old church and of Chicheley's church have been preserved. They are very lengthy. Only a few items can be cited.

*relike de ossibus vndecim millia virgina.*²

relike de Capite Sc'i stephani a relike and it is like a blak Cole somewhat brent.

In the body of the later church, before the crucifix, a hanging lamp was kept burning night and day. In 1481 a cross was set up in the churchyard. The cost is entered in the accounts :

Makyng of the Crosse in the Cherche yerd vjs viiiij^d.

¹ *Deo dandum.* A curious instance of old law. The beam having caused a death, was to be given to God or sold and the proceeds applied to religious purposes.

² As to the 11,000 virgins, see 'S. Mary-at-the-Axe.'

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The inventory includes the following :

It'm fyve Belles and a Sayntis Bell in the steple.
It'm the founte with lock and key.

It is to be noted that when the church was burnt down in the Fire, the steeple was left standing and the bells were not melted.

Alexander Brome, poet and dramatist, lived in Barge Yard, in the parish, died in the year of the Fire, and was buried in the church. He was an attorney, and a Royalist during the war. 'A very pleasant companion and an ingenious poet,' so Newcourt wrote of him. Thomas Southwell, the first rector of the church, was buried there, as was also Sir Rich. Lee, Lord Mayor in 1460 and 1469. Another Lord Mayor, Sir Rowland Hill, had a most imposing burial in 1561, as described by Henry Machyn in his Diary.

The dene of Powlles mad the Sermon and after all done my Lord Mayre and many althermen whent to the Mercers Hall to dener.

A few references to the churchwardens' accounts will be of interest. One item appears every year shewing the old custom of 'watching the Sepulchre.'

It'm for bryde and alle for thym that wachys the Sepulker vj^d.
It'm A garland for S. Steven xiiij^d.

This entry shews the signs of the time, on the accession of Edward VI.

Payd to v laborers for iij dayes at vj^d. at the pullyng downe of the Awlters vijs. vj^d.

At the corner of S. Swithin's Lane, in Cannon Street (formerly Candlewick Street), stands the Church of S. Swithin, by London Stone, as rebuilt after the Fire. In a niche in the church wall may be seen a fragment of the famous London stone, which is

S. Swi-
thun (or
Swithin)

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older than the saint to whom the church is dedicated. The stone formerly stood on the opposite (the south) side of the street, 'pitched upright, fixed in the ground verie deepe' (so Stow says), and supposed to have some mystic significance. It was certainly very ancient, possibly part of a Roman monument, or, as Camden suggests, 'a miliary like that in the Forum of Rome.'

The original church was not later than the thirteenth century; and was rebuilt in 1420 by Sir John Head (Mayor in 1405), whose arms were in the church windows, 'even in the toppes of them,' Stow says; and adds, 'He lieth buried in the bodie of this church with a faire stone laid on him, but the plates and inscriptions are defaced.' The church and a large house in the rear was in possession of the Prior and Convent of Tortington, in Sussex, until the suppression, when they were granted by Henry VIII to the Earl of Oxford—Oxford Place is still in evidence—but sold to Sir John Hart, and by him to the Salters' Company, who used the house for their Hall.¹

The earliest rector, according to Hennessy, was Alexander, 1236. Newcourt gives Robert de Galdeford, who resigned in 1331. In the return of 1636 the income was given as £99. The parish of S. Mary Bothaw was annexed to that of S. Swithin after the Fire.

This is the only church in London dedicated to S. Swithin (or Swithun), who was born in the year 800, bred at Winchester, and became successively prior and bishop. He desired not to be buried in the church but outside in the highway, where his body would be trampled on by passengers and subject to rain. His wish was complied with, and the place was forgotten till in the year 970 it was discovered by a labourer, to whom the saint himself had revealed the position. The bishop of the

¹ Salters' Hall Court still marks the spot.

CHURCHES EAST OF S PAUL'S

time placed the remains in a shrine, and it was said that they wrought miracles. Probably the saint's disregard of weather conditions gave rise to the curious tradition which is still current in connection with his day in the calendar.¹ The saint's emblem is 'a Shower of Rain.'

The Church of S. Thomas Apostle (sometimes called Great S. Thomas) was in Knight Rider Street, at the east end of the street where the modern Queen Street crossed. From the earliest times it belonged to the canons of S. Paul, and is mentioned in the register of the Dean and Chapter in 1181. According to Hennessy's 'Novum Repertorium,' William de Sleaford was priest in 1365 and William Stone was chaplain in 1369, being appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. And yet the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's presented William Brykelampton in 1415. The church would appear to have been rebuilt before this date, for Stow tells us that 'John Barnes Maior in 1371 was a great builder of S. Thomas Apostles parish church as appeareth by his armes there both in stone and glasse.'² The same John Barnes left a chest and 1000 marks, to be lent to young men 'upon sufficient pawne, and for the use thereof to say '*De profundis* or *Pater Noster*, and no more.'

In the return of 1636 the profit of the living was stated to be £94. In this year the rector was — Cooper; who for his loyalty was, in 1642, sequestered and (according to Newcourt) plundered and sent to prison at Leeds Castle in Kent. The church was burnt in the Fire, and not rebuilt. Part of the site was absorbed in the formation of Queen Street. A small piece of the churchyard may still be seen. The parish was united to that of S. Mary Aldermary.

¹ In the English calendar, July 15. In the Roman, July 2.

² *Survey* (1603), p. 108.

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S. Mary,
Alderman-
bury

The Church of S. Mary-the-Virgin, Aldermanbury, was in the possession of Elsing Priory¹ (which dated from about 1331) until the suppression, and was served by a curate. After the passing of the priory we hear of the church as a rectory, and eventually it would appear that the advowson was granted to certain persons in trust for the parishioners, who then had the right to elect their rector, subject, however, to the licence of the bishop. (See Appendix.)

Sir William Englefield, who was mayor in 1429 and 1437, built the steeple and renewed the bells. He founded a chantry, and was buried there. Stow writes of the cloister adjoining the churchyard, 'in the which cloyster is hanged and fastned a shanke bone of a man (as it is said) very great and larger by three inches and a half then that which hangeth in St. Laurence Church in the Jury, for it is in length 28 inches and a halfe of assise.'²

The church of Stow's time has disappeared, but the churchyard of the present church gives us a reminiscence of a man greater by many inches than the citizens of his own or any other time, being no other than William Shakespeare. There is a memorial tablet to John Heminge and Henry Condell who, to quote the inscription, are called

Fellow Actors and personal friends of Shakespeare. They lived many years in this Parish and are buried here. To their disinterested affection the world owes all that is called Shakespeare. They alone collected the dramatic writings regardless of pecuniary cost.

The importance of the Shakespeare Folio of 1623 which Heminge and Condell published, a representation of which is sculptured on the memorial, cannot be over-rated, as in the

¹ But the church is mentioned as S. Marie de Althemanneber in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas, 1291.

² Stow's *Survey* (1603), p. 295.

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case of some of the plays therein printed no copies are elsewhere extant. The text of the book, as we know, has been the source of some curious literary excursions, but it is considered of so much value to students that it has been facsimiled several times.

Edmund Calamy, a distinguished Puritan opponent of Episcopacy, was incumbent here in 1639-62.¹ He promoted the Restoration, but lived to repent it, for the Royalist Party sent him to Newgate for unlicensed preaching.

The church register contains a notification of the marriage of John Milton with Katherine Woodcock :

The Agreement and intention of marriage, etc. etc. was published three severall Markett Days etc.

This was in accordance with the marriage regulations during the Protectorate.

The Minutes of the Vestry have references to the organ :

1570. To John Howe, Organ Maker for his rewarde ijs. iiij*d*.

1577. Received of Harris Collier for the old pipes that were in the organ appointed by the Parish to be sold iiijs. viij*d*.

Foundlings in the parish were christened 'Aldermanbury' or, for short, 'Berry.' The register in 1586 has this :

For so much paid to the Beedells of Christ's Hospital for going about the Citie six days to seeke for the Mother of a child which was left in the Parish.²

In the year 1621, at a meeting of the parishioners it was decided that in order to raise £100 for the purchase of the parsonage

every man shall pay according to the Property that he is seaced for the poor that is Doble as much as his hole yeares assessment.³

¹ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, p. 433.

² See *Hist. of the Church*, by P. C. Carter.

³ *Ibid*.

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The amount of assessment seems unnecessarily high for the purpose.¹

S. Olave
Jewry

The Church of S. Olave Upwell stood on the west side of the Old Jewry. The second title appears to have been given from the fact of a well being under the east end of the church. The church is heard of as early as 1171, as being held by the Prior of Butley, in Suffolk, at a rent of two shillings yearly, and we may take it that the priory supplied the church with a priest or curate from their own body.² We are told that the church was anciently a rectory, but that the rectory was impropriated before 1322, in which year John Brian was the first vicar and founded a chantry.

The Church of S. Stephen, Coleman Street, was a chapel attached to S. Olave until it became a vicarage. On the suppression of Butley Priory by Henry VIII, the patronage fell to the Crown. The income from the benefice was returned at £73. The church was destroyed in the Great Fire.² It was rebuilt, but has been removed in recent times, the tower remaining and used as part of the vicarage of S. Margaret Lothbury.

S. Peter
the Little

The Church of S. Peter, Paul's Wharf, also known as S. Peter the Little (or *Parva*), was on the north side of Thames Street, at the corner of S. Peter's Hill. Edward Marbury, who was rector here during the Civil War, was sequestrated. Yet it is stated that this was one of the very few churches where the Common Prayer Book continued to be used during the time of the Commonwealth.³ The church was not rebuilt after the

¹ According to Hennessy's *Novum Repertorium*, there is evidence of the church's existence at a much earlier date than Elsing Priory. He alludes to a sepulchral inscription dated 1116, and mentions a certain priest or curate called William de Aldermanbir who died in 1200.

² There is also mention in 1228. See Calendar of Close Rolls, 12 Henry III.

³ See Newcourt's *Repertorium*. The church is called S. Petrus in Tamesestret in the *Taxatio* of 1291.

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Fire. The parish was joined to that of S. Benet, Paul's Wharf. A small part of the churchyard may still be seen enclosed by railings.

Not far from the above was an ancient church dating from the twelfth century, dedicated to S. Mary Magdalen, and situate in Old Fish Street, since named Lambert Hill. In 1181 Ralph de Diceto, Dean, was in possession, but a certain 'Richard,' a perpetual vicar, had the cure. Later on the church was a rectory, for we read that in the time of Robert Gilbert, Bishop of London, 1436-48, John Carpenter was rector. In the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' (26 Henry VIII) the church was called *S. Marie Magdalene in veteri piscaria*, and the rectory was valued at £18, 10s. 10d. In 1636 Matthew Griffith, rector, was sequestered, but was reinstated in 1660.

S. Mary
Magdalen,
Old Fish
Street

The church was rebuilt after the Fire and took in the parish of S. Gregory.

Another small church near here which has ceased to exist since the Fire, stood on the west side of Bread Street Hill, and was dedicated to S. Nicholas Olave. The date of the first church is not known, but was before 1291. Henry Welles, rector, died in 1391 and was buried under the altar. D. Cheshire, rector during the Civil War, was forced to resign.

S. Nicho-
las Olave

The parish was annexed to that of S. Nicholas Cole Abbey, and the site of the church was used as a churchyard.

The family of Basing was of importance in the City in the thirteenth century, if not earlier, and Basing Hall was well known and gave its name to the street which still bears it. To distinguish it from the many other 'Saint Michaëls,' the church was called S. Michael Bassishaw (a corruption of Basing-hall). The church was built not later than the thirteenth century, probably earlier, and was in the possession of the Priory of S. Bartholomew. It is on record that Henry III in 1246, confirmed the advowson to Adam de Basing. Newcourt

S. Michael
Bassishaw

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called it 'a comely church when it was re-edified,' c. 1450, by John Mercer (or mainly by his liberal benefactions). John Barton was also a generous donor, and his mark was inscribed on many parts of the church and the beam of the roof of the choir. He is buried in the choir, 'with Jenet his wife and their progenie,' as the epitaph tells us. The first rector on the Register was Randolphus de Waltham, who died in 1327, but a certain Ralph, probably a priest from the priory, is mentioned as having been there in 1286. The church was rebuilt after the Fire, but has since been removed.

S. Bene't
Finke

In Threadneedle Street, a little to the west of the Merchant Taylors' Hall, is Finch Lane (a variation of Finke), so named from Robert Finke the elder, who had a house there, and who rebuilt the Church of S. Benedict, his name being consequently added to the title.¹ This is one of four churches dedicated to the founder of the Benedictine Order. The first church dated not later than fourteenth century, and was in early times a rectory and latterly a curacy. The first rector was Thomas de Branketre, who died in 1323. The church was under the patronage of S. Anthony's Hospital, by whom a free school was founded which acquired some fame. James Howell, writing in 1657, says, 'The French Reformers have their sermons in this church and the exercise of Calvin's religion.'²

The church was burnt down in the Fire.

S.
Michael,
Wood
Street

The Church of S. Michael, on the west side of Wood Street was sometimes called S. Michael's, Huggen Lane, having a frontage to the latter street, so named from a certain landowner Huggen or Hugon. This church could boast of containing something more than a cenotaph to royalty, as it held, or was reputed to hold, the remains of a king, or a portion of one, viz., to quote Stow, 'the head of James, the fourth King of

¹ But in the List of 1291 the church is called *Benedictus Finch*.

² *Londonopolis*, p. 74.

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Scots of that name, slayne at Flodden Field.' The story is that the body was taken to the monastery at Sheen, and after many years was discovered by Queen Elizabeth's glaziers, who 'cut the head from the rest, but smelling the sweet perfumes of the balms, gave it to their master Launcelot Young,' who, after keeping it at his house in Wood Street, had it buried with other human remains in the charnel of the church. Sir Richard Baker throws doubt on the story, and says it has been asserted that James was not killed at Flodden, but escaped and 'passed to Hierusalem, and there spent the rest of his days in holy contemplation.'¹

The advowson of the church was in possession of the Abbot of S. Albans until the dissolution. Eventually it became the property of the parishioners at large. The first rector on the London Register was John de Eppewell, who died in 1328. In the Return of 1636 the income of the living was stated as £79. The church was rebuilt after the Fire and the parish of S. Mary Staining annexed.

This latter church was not rebuilt after the Fire. A small piece of the old churchyard may still be seen in Oat Lane, Wood Street. Stow offers 'Stone' as an explanation for 'Staining,' as he did in the case of All Hallows Staining, and he makes another suggestion that the neighbourhood was inhabited by 'Painter-Stainers.' Neither suggestion seems plausible. The church was called *Ecclesia de Stainingehage* as early as 1189.²

Stow says the church was newly built in his time (1598), and therefore there were no monuments, but the original church was built not later than the twelfth century, although no

¹ Baker's *Chronicle*, Hen. VIII, p. 11 (1643).

² In the Clerkenwell Chartulary. See note in Kingsford's edition of Stow, ii. p. 340. Maitland suggested that Stayning Lane was so named because it once contained the Haws of the men of Staines.

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rector is given in the London Register earlier than John de Lukenore, who died 1328.

The last rector in the year of the Great Fire was Israel Tongue, a man with Puritan leanings. He was at one time a Fellow of University College, Oxford, and in after years was concerned with Titus Oates in the alleged discovery of the so-called Popish Plot.

S. Alban,
Wood
Street

On the east side of Wood Street, at the corner of Addle Street, is the Church of S. Alban. The street is said to have been formerly called 'King Adel Street,' justifying a tradition connecting the church with the Saxon King Adelstane. Anthony Munday, writing in 1633, gives his personal impression of the building as it then stood :

Another character of the antiquity of it is to be seen in the manner of the turning of the arches in the windowes and heads of the Pillars. A third note appears in the Romane bricks here and there inlaid among the stones of the building. King Adelstane the Saxon, as tradition says, had his house at the east end of this Church.¹

Some time before 1633 the old church was in a decayed and dangerous condition, insomuch that

many of the Parishioners refused to go to it, many that went, went unwillingly ; but all with much fear where they sate with more : their danger all the time much troubling and disturbing their devotions.²

The church was, at all events, built in Norman times, for we are told that the Abbey of S. Alban owned several churches in the Eleventh century dedicated to S. Alban, and this was one of them. Subsequently the patronage was with the Hospital of S. James, Westminster, and at a later period with Eton College. The church was rebuilt before the Great Fire.

Sir John Cheke, Schoolmaster to Edward VI, was buried

¹ Munday's *Continuation of Stow*, 1633, p. 308.

² *Ibid.* p. 819.

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here in 1557, and William Dunthorne, in his time Town Clerk, was given a eulogistic epitaph—

Clericus urbis erat primus, nullique secundus.

William Watts, rector 1625-42, was chaplain to Prince Rupert.

(xii)

The famous Church of S. Mary-le-Bow in Cheapside was originally built in the reign of William the Conqueror, being (according to Stow) the first church in London built upon arches, and therefore called 'S. Mary de Arcubus,' or 'le-Bow,' familiarly shortened into Bow Church.¹ By 'arches' is meant the Norman crypt, the only part of the ancient church now remaining. The vaulting is in a good state of preservation. Traces may also be seen of an earlier Saxon church, and some remains of Roman material are traceable in parts of the walls—relics, no doubt, of Roman work, but not of necessity indicating a Roman building. At a later period a Roman causeway was discovered many feet below the surface.

S. Mary-
le-Bow

Another opinion on the origin of the name is that it came from the steeple, the upper part of which rested on four arches, something after the same fashion as the present Church of S. Dunstan in the East, built by Wren. But the arched steeple was not in the Norman church, but in the later one completed in 1512. There were four lanthorns built in stonework at the corners of the tower below the spire and a fifth upon the arches. This tower is plainly seen in Visscher's View of London from the south, and in others. As to the Norman church, in 1270 or 1271 the tower fell down suddenly, and was rebuilt little by little, and not completely finished for over two hundred years.²

¹ Stratford-le-Bow (*temp.* Henry I) is a similar case, the church being so built.

² See a paper delivered to the *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, by W. A. Cater, 1915.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

A character in one of Ben Jonson's plays alludes to the spire as if it offered a temptation to suicide :

Such a delicate steeple i' the towne as Bow, to vault from, or a braver height as Paul's.¹

Yet to judge from the picture maps (*e.g.* Visscher's, 1616), the spire was not as lofty as that of the present church.

The church derived great fame from its ring of bells, more especially the great bell, the gift of William Copland. Nearly all the allusions in plays or elsewhere touch on this subject, either with reference to the great bell rung as an alarm, or to the peal, or to the nine o'clock curfew. In Henry VI's time, there being a riot of the Lombards,

The comyns of the cyte secretly made them redy and dyde arme theym in ther houses and were in purpoope to have ronge the comyn belle whych is callyd bowe belle, but they were lett.²

Three other churches had the privilege of ringing the curfew. In Arnold's 'Chronicle' we read :

Also yf ther bee any parish clarke y^t ringyth curfew after the curfew be ronge at Bowe chirche Berkyng chirche or Saint Brides chirche or Saint Gyles wythout Crepelgate, all such to be presentyd.

John Hall uses the bell as a simile, comparing it to the clattering tongue of an old woman—a poor comparison to a bell of such high renown :

O let me when I chance to die
In Vulcan's anvil buried lie
Rather than hear thy tong and knell
That Tom-a-Lincoln an Bow Bell.³

¹ 1609. *Silent Woman*, II, i.

² *Trevisa, Polychronicon*, 1497, Wynkyn de Worde, H. vj, b. See also *City Letter Book*, L. 84; *Ordinacio de pulsatione campane de Bow, Cherche*.

³ 1646. *To an Old Woman Talking*.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

In Chapman's 'Eastward Ho!' some one cries:

I would make a mouth at the City as I rid through it, and stop mine ears at Bow Bell.¹

Again:

Hark, Bow-Bell rings, before the Lord 'tis late;
William, good night, prethy take up the Plate.²

And again:

Gods me, 'tis nine o'clock, harke Bow-bell rings;³
and in Heywood's 'Edward IV':

Pluck out the clapper of Bow Bell and hang up all the Sextons in the City.⁴

In the Duke of Newcastle's 'The Varieties' someone asks:

Were not you one of the brothers that guarded the Dyall at Bow Church and us'd to put Cheapside in mind of their quarters?⁵

This would appear to allude to a certain official known as the Clerk of Bow Bell, who was, according to Stow,⁶ not always punctual in ringing and offended the 'prentices, who lampooned him:

Clarke of the Bow Bell with the yellow locks,
For thy late ringing thy head shall have knockes.

To which the Clerk replies:

Children of Cheape, hold you all still,
For you shall have the Bow Bell rung at your will.⁷

¹ Chapman (1605), V, i. ² 'Tis merry when Gossips meet (1609), H. 3.

³ W. Haughton, *Englishmen for my Money* (1616), F. 1.

⁴ *I Edw. IV* (1600), I, iv. ⁵ (1649), III, i. ⁶ *Survey* (1603), p. 258.

⁷ This incident is related by Mr. Alfred Noyes in his recent poem, *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern*. He gives the name of the Clerk as Gregory Clopton.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

The Ecclesiastical Court of Arches sat in Bow Church, and derived its name, *Curia de Arcubus*, from that circumstance. Bishops attended there, as they still do, to have their election confirmed. Touching the consecration of the Protestant bishops, John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, wrote :

This (*i.e.* the confirmation of the election before the Dean of the Arches) is performed alwaies in Bow Church except elsewhere by Commission.

Cardinal Pole, whose promotion in the Church was abnormally rapid, came here after his consecration as archbishop (1556).

Arrived in England, he was first ordained priest (being but deacon before), and then consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. . . . Three days after he was dedicated in Bow Church, where, rich in costly robes and sitting on a gilded throne, his Pall was presented unto him. Adorned therewith, Pole presently mounts the pulpit and makes a drie sermon of the use and honour of the Pall.¹

In Middleton and Dekker's ' Roaring Girl ' we read :

I cite you . . . to appear . . . in Bow Church . . . to answer a libel of precontract . . . you're best Sir take a copy of the Citation, 'tis but 12 pence.²

Fifty years later Pepys has an entry in his Diary on February 4, 1663 :

To Bow Church to the Court of Arches, where a judge sits and his proctors about him in their habits.

The following has reference to desecration at the end of the twelfth century :

William longbeard seeing himselfe hotlie pursued . . . he betooke himselfe at last into Bow Church, not for his sanctuarie, but for a bulwarke

¹ 1645. Fuller's *Church History*, Bk. VIII.

² 1611. IV, ii.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

of his safetie. . . . That church which was sacred to praiers was now made a den of rebels.¹

Longbeard, whose real name was Fitzosbert, was hanged in chains at Smithfield in 1196. According to Stow, he called upon the devil to help and deliver him.

Stow records that in 1270 the steeple 'fell down and slew many people. Also that in 1283 Laurence Ducket, Goldsmith, was murdered in the Church and the Murthers hanged.' Another account says that the murder was committed in the steeple, and that in consequence the church was interdicted.

The first rector of the church was William de Cilecester, 1287. Martin Fotherby, rector in 1594, became Bishop of Salisbury, 1618. Jeremiah Leech, who was rector at the time of the Rebellion, was sequestered for his loyalty and died of grief. In the return made in 1636 the yearly income, including the value of the parsonage, was stated to be £100, and in addition £26, 13s. 4d. was paid for a weekly sermon in the winter time.

The Court of Arches (*Curia de Arcubus*) 'is the chief and antientest Consistory that belongeth to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for debating of Spiritual Causes, the Judge being called Dean of the Arches.'²

The date is doubtful, but the first commission granted to a Judge of the Court was by Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1308. According to the statute, all proceedings of the court must be in Latin. The first dean was William de Middleton, 1273. John de Stratford was dean in 1322, and subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury. There was a Court of Peculiars which had its dean, the first dean being Richard de Stretford, 1273. This court was a branch of the Court of Arches, which had jurisdiction over all parishes which

¹ 1593. Thos. Lodge, *Life and Death of William Longbeard, the most Famous and Witty English Traitor.*

² See Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

Peculiars were exempt from ordinary jurisdiction.¹ This name of 'Peculiar' was given to thirteen churches, of which Bow Church was the chief, and signified that they were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London and were under the Archbishop of Canterbury. In addition to Bow, the other churches having this designation were :

All Hallows, Bread Street ; All Hallows, Lombard Street ; S. Dionys, Backchurch ; S. Dunstan in the East ; S. John Evangelist ; S. Leonard Eastcheap ; S. Mary, Aldermay ; S. Mary Bothaw ; S. Michael, Crooked Lane ; S. Michael Royal ; S. Pancras, Soper Lane ; S. Vedast.²

**S. Osyth
(Bene't
Sherehog)**

The name of the church dedicated to S. Osyth got corrupted into S. Syth or Sithes, and the street is still known under another variation as Size Lane. Edward Hall, the historian, who died in 1547, 'lieth buried in the Church. . . . I cannot recover any Epitaph upon him,' so writes Thomas Fuller.³ Katherine Phillips, a poetess of the late seventeenth century, whose memory should be kept green, and who, to her friends, was known as 'The Matchless Orinda,' here found a resting-place near to her son, whose epitaph she had composed :

Too promising, too great a mind
In so small room to be confined.⁴

It is curious that the church should have got to be called S. Bennet Sherehog solely from the fact that a certain Benedict Shorne, not a saint, and whose surname got corrupted into Shrog or Shorehog or Sherehog, was a benefactor. Stow, in his list of churches in 'Cheape Ward,' does not give S. Osyth, but calls the church 'S. Benet Sorhoge, or Syth,' but in another place (1603, p. 262) he enters it as 'S. Syth or Benit Shrog, Needlars Lane,' and he adds, 'It seemeth to take that name

¹ Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*.

³ *Worthies* (1662), p. 219.

² See Newcourt, *Repertorium*.

⁴ a. 1664. *Poems*, 1667.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

of one Benedict Shorne, sometime a citizen and stocke-fishmonger.' ¹

The church dated from the thirteenth century, if not earlier. John de Lincoln, the first recorded rector, died in 1323. Before the Dissolution the patronage was with the Priory of S. Mary Overie—afterwards with the Crown. The church was not rebuilt after the Fire, but a small portion of the churchyard may still be seen.

Within a few yards of the Church of S. Osyth, in Needlers Lane (now called Pancras Lane) and close to Sopers Lane (now Queen Street), was the little church dedicated to S. Pancras, the only church in the City that honoured that saint, though there was one outside that had a popular reputation of its own, and will receive notice later on. The saint is not well known, and modern Londoners have possibly only heard of his name in connection with a railway terminus. He is said to have suffered in Rome in his fourteenth year in the time of Diocletian, A.D. 304. S. Gregory of Tours calls him the avenger of perjuries, and says that God by perpetual miracles visibly punished false oaths made in the presence of his relics. A church in Rome is dedicated to him, and he is said to be there buried.²

The church dated from the thirteenth century, if not earlier. The first rector mentioned on the Register printed in Newcourt's 'Repertorium' is John de Sandwics, 1319, but Henry de Elmyntone is on record as having served the church in 1312.³

In Stow's time (1598) many of the monuments in the church were defaced. The parishioners moreover, through irreverence and parsimony, were guilty of another offence, viz. the selling any one of the church bells that might be cracked or broken for metal rather than incur the expense of having it recast.

¹ Mr. Kingsford in his edition of Stow has a note: 'The church is called St. Bennet Surhog before 1248.' In the *Taxatio*, 1291, it is 'Benedictus Shorhog.'

² His day is May 12. See Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*.

³ Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

George Ecoppe was rector during the Civil War. The party in power accused him of being 'a notorious Popish Ceremony-monger and an enemy to frequent preaching,' and he was forcibly ejected from the living, the income of which was, without counting the usual deductions, £56 per annum. The church was not rebuilt after the Fire, and the parish was joined to that of S. Mary-le-Bow. The church was one of the thirteen Peculiars.¹ A small portion of the churchyard may still be seen in S. Pancras Lane.

S.Nicho-
las Cold
Abbey

The Church of S. Nicholas Cold Abbey, as rebuilt after the Fire, now fronts the modern Queen Victoria Street, but formerly was approached by Old Fish Street Hill. The following is from Wriothsesley's 'Chronicle' (1553) :

Friday the 24 of November one Sir Tho. Sothwood, priest, alias parson Chekin of St. Nicholas olde Abbaye in olde Fishe Street, rode aboute the Cittie in a carte with a ray hood for sellenge his wife, which he said he had married.²

The term 'Sir' is a courtesy title often bestowed on the clergy as a mark of respect, not, it would seem, appropriate in this case. A rayhood probably meant a hood of striped cloth as a mark of opprobrium. The Chronicler alters the title 'colde' to 'olde.' Stow cannot suggest any explanation of 'colde' except a cold situation like Cold Harbour, not far off on the riverside.

The church, which stood lower than the street, and was entered by a descent, was founded before 1291. It is on record that the churchyard was formed in 1333, and that a certain Buckland rebuilt the steeple in the time of Richard II. The rectory was in the possession of S. Martin-le-Grand until Henry VII, then of the Abbot of Westminster. and, after the

¹ See note to S. Mary-le-Bow.

² Camden Society.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

suppression, of the Crown. At a later date we find it in private hands, and Colonel Hacker, being patron in the time of Charles I, commanding the guard at the time of the King's execution. For this he was tried and executed after the Restoration.

In 1628 we are told that 'new battlements were added to the steeple,' or, more correctly, the tower.

The first rector was J. Baud, who died in 1383. Peter White, rector in 1569, was (according to Anthony Wood) a severe Calvinist. J. Chibald, who succeeded his father as rector in 1640, was sequestered.

The income of the benefice was returned as £74, 10s., without including the value of 'a fair Parsonage-house.'

The church called S. John the Baptist-upon-Walbrook was opposite the Candlewick Street (now Cannon Street) end of Walbrook, at the corner of Dowgate by Horseshow Bridge. Founded before 1291, and enlarged in 1412, and 'new-built' Stow says in his time, *c.* 1598. It was burnt in the Great Fire. The State Papers have a reference to this church, shewing that, at all events in some cases, it was customary for parishioners to contribute to the needs of the poor and to hospitals, although not connected with their own church :

S. John
Baptist-
upon-
Walbrook

September 11, 1573. The Treasurer of Christ's Hospital acknowledges the receipt of certain sums collected in the Parish of St. John Walbrook for the relief of the Poor harboured in the Hospital. This was paid after reserving a certain sum for the poor of their own Parish.¹

The west end of the church was on the bank of the Wallbrook, hence the title. The church was not rebuilt after the Fire, and the parish was joined to that of S. Antholin. The first rector was Thomas Pateshull, 1373 (according to the Return of 1636). A small piece of the churchyard may still be seen close to Dowgate Hill.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth.* Addenda.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

S. Bene't
Hithe

S. Bene't Hithe, also called S. Bene't Paul's Wharf, is no doubt the church that Shakespeare had in mind in the following passage in 'Twelfth Night':

The *Clown* (addressing the Duke). The Bells of Saint Bennet, Sir, may put you in mind,—one, two, three.¹

The church was near to Puddle Dock and the Blackfriars Theatre, and the Bells would be a familiar sound to him. However, churches dedicated to S. Benedict might presumably have been found in Illyria, which is the scene of the play.

Elias Ashmole, the founder of the Ashmolean Museum, was married here. He writes in his Diary:

I was married to Mrs. Elianor Mainwaring . . . in St. Benedict's Church near Paul's Wharf. . . . She proved a virtuous, good wife.²

Master Adams, the vicar of this church in the time of the Civil War, offended the party in power and was stigmatised as 'a known profane pot-companion both day and night . . . a temporising ceremony-monger, etc.'³

The church, which stood on the north side of Thames Street, was sometimes called 'S. Bene't Wood Wharf,' and in the 1291 Taxation, Benedict Wodefarne. It was rebuilt after the Fire, and may now be seen from the new street (Queen Victoria Street), a brick-built erection now used as the Welsh Church.

S. Andrew
in the
Wardrobe

S. Andrew's in the Wardrobe (the King's Wardrobe being near by) was in Knight Rider Street. David Roberts the vicar was bold enough to give public evidence of his adherence to the Earl of Essex, who was executed shortly afterwards (1601):

In my Parish Church of St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe, on Dec. 25, 1599, in the Prayer for the Church, Queen and State, I used the following

¹ Act V, sc. i.

² *Diary*, March 27, 1638.

³ c. 1647, *A Succinct Traiterologie*.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

words : ' And as my particular duty more especially bindeth me, I humbly beseech thee dear Father to look mercifully with thy gracious favour upon that noble Barak thy servant the Earl of Essex, strengthening him in the inward man against all his enemies.' ¹

The church now has a frontage on Queen Victoria Street. Being near to Baynard Castle, it was sometimes called S. Andrew *juxta* Baynards, and is so styled in the list of 1291. The ancient family of the Fitzwalters (a Fitzwalter being Constable of Baynards) had the patronage. The first rector died in 1322. The following from the State Papers shews how citizens suffered from compulsory loans during the Civil War :

Notice served on Thom. Townsend of S. Andrews-by-the-Wardrobe Parish that by the ordinance of 2 Dec. last he is assessed to lend 10*l.* for our brethren of Scotland for their assistance in this war.²

The church was burnt in the Fire and rebuilt, the parish of S. Anne, Blackfriars, being annexed.

S. Andrew Hubbard (or S. Andrew by Eastcheap) was in Rope Lane, near Billingsgate (now Love Lane). It dated from the thirteenth century, and was repaired or restored in 1630. Originally under the patronage of the Earl of Pembroke, Walter Palmer, who died in 1389, was the first rector.³ The church was burnt down in the Fire and the parish annexed to that of S. Mary-at-Hill.

On the west side of Friday Street, near Cheapside, stood the Church of S. Matthew, the only one having a like dedication. The church was a rectory in the gift of the Abbot of Westminster until the suppression of the Abbey. From the time of Edward VI in the gift of the Bishop of London. The first

¹ *Cal. of State Papers*, Elizabeth, Jan. 1, 1600.

² 1645. *Cal. of State Papers*, Charles I.

³ Included in the *Taxatio* of 1291, and in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 entered as S. Andree in Estchepe *alias* Hubert Rectory. Value, £18, 10*s.* 10*d.*

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

rector was Roger de South-Croxton, 1322. A chantry was founded in 1334, and another at a later date.

Sir Hugh Myddelton, the founder of the New River Company, was buried in S. Matthew's, Friday Street, in 1631. In 1636 Henry Burton, having been deprived of his benefice, printed his Appeal to the King (Charles I) and 'An Epistle to the true-hearted Nobility.' It seems he had preached against certain innovations in church ornaments and ritual which he considered Popish, and against certain alterations in the Prayer Book which were adverse to Puritan teaching. Among other things, he complained that words had been added in the Service for November 5, so that the prayer read that the Magistrates of the Land might have

judgement and justice to cutte of these workers of iniquity *who turne religion into rebellion and faith into faction.*

He complains that the name of 'the Lady Elizabeth your Majesties only sister was omitted in the Prayer. Also the Prayers for the Navy and for seasonable weather.'

He was censured in the Star Chamber and put in the pillory, fined £5000, and condemned to prison for life. The severity of the sentence is hardly credible. Sir Richard Baker says the accusation was 'a false libel.' However, he was released in 1640 by an order of the House of Commons, the tendency of the times being in his favour, and he and Prynne (who was associated with him in the censure) had a triumphant entry into London, 'accompanied (so Newcourt puts it) by thousands of filthy fellows on foot, horseback and in coaches with Rosemary and bays in their hats crying welcome home!'

He became a Nonconformist and had some following. Robert Chester, who was rector at the time, was deprived and imprisoned in the Counter.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

In the Return made in 1636 the income of the rectory was stated to be £56, 15s.

Near by, at the other end of Friday Street, at the corner of Watling Street, stood the Church of S. John the Evangelist, one of those known as 'Peculiar.'¹ In 1361 a chantry was founded by William de Augre. The first rector was Joh. Hanvile, who retired in 1354. The income of the benefice was returned in 1636 as £76, 10s. After the Fire the parish was annexed to that of All Hallows, Bread Street. A small portion of the churchyard at the corner of Watling Street may still be seen.

S. John
the
Evangelist

Apparently the church was rebuilt about the middle of the fourteenth century, and then re-dedicated to S. John the Evangelist. The ancient church was dedicated to S. Werberg or Werburga, and is included under that name in the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas IV, 1291. Mr. Hennessy gives the name of a certain 'Robert' as in charge in the year 1245, but he adds no further information. The saint in question was Abbess of Ely, and died about A.D. 700.²

S. Werberg

S. Margaret Moses or Moyses, Friday Street, was so called (according to Stow) from the name of a benefactor.³

S. Mar-
garet
Moyes

The founder was Robert Fitzwalter, who gave the church

¹ See S. Mary-le-Bow, p. 184.

² Mr. Kingsford in his edition of Stow has a note that the church was called Werburga as early as 1247, and in 1349 is called S. John Evangelist and S. Wereberga in the Calendar of Wills.

³ 'The name may be due to *Moyes Sacerdos*, who occurs in Deeds in S. Paul's about 1142.' See note in Kingsford's *Stow*. This seems a rather remote possibility. Stow's suggestion that a certain Moses was the benefactor, a suggestion followed by most of his successors, is hardly probable. It is unlikely that a Jew would found or benefit a Christian church. A correspondent writes that in the Cornish dialect 'Moses' means 'Virgin,' and that 'Aunt Mary Moses' occurs in an old carol and means 'The Virgin Mary.' This might afford an explanation if the church had been located in Cornwall or if the founder of the London church had been a Cornish man. In the Cornish Dictionary by F. W. P. Jago, *môs* or *môz* = a maid.

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to the Prior and Convent of S. Faith of Hersham in Norfolk 'in performance of a vow made to the saint for loosing the fetters of him and his wife Sybil and bringing them out of prison.' In 1339 the patronage was with Edward III and continued with his successors.¹

The old church, which was built before 1300, and called 'Moysus' in the list of 1291, stood on the east side of Friday Street, and was burnt in the Great Fire and not rebuilt, the parish being united to that of S. Mildred, Bread Street. The first rector was Robert de Northwico until 1331. John Rogers was vicar here and rector of S. Sepulchre in 1550. He was burnt as a heretic at Smithfield in 1555, the first burning in Queen Mary's reign. He was literary executor to Caxton, and edited a new version of the Bible known as Matthew's Bible,² a pseudonym used as a disguise. It was, in the main, Tyndale's version, and was authorised by Royal Licence, while Tyndale's was forbidden by Act of Parliament, 1543.

S. Mildred,
Poultry

S. Mildred's Court in the Poultry marks the position of S. Mildred's Church, where Thomas Tusser, the author of 'A Hundreth good Points of Husbandrie,' was buried about 1580. Stow writes, 'new builded upon Walbrooke in the yeare 1457. . . . The new Quire now standeth upon the course of Walbrooke.'

Particulars of the first church are wanting, but it is on record that there was a rector or priest in charge in 1325, viz. 'John de Assewell,' and that chantries were founded in 1337 and 1366. There was a chapel annexed called the Chapel of Corpus Christi and S. Mary at Coniehope-lane-ende, which was suppressed and sold for secular purposes.

¹ See *Novum Repertorium*, G. Hennessy.

² First edition, 1537. A copy of the 1550 edition is now in the Church of S. Mildred, Bread St.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

The parsonage was built upon pillars, and there were cloisters underneath used for burials. In the return of 1636 the income from tithes was stated to be £80. Richard Maden, rector in 1638, was sequestered. The church was burnt in the Great Fire, and was rebuilt, but has since been removed. Annexed to this church after the Fire was the parish of S. Mary Colechurch; the church, situate at the end of Conie-hope Lane, close by (now Grocers' Hall Court), was not rebuilt. The second name was 'of one Cole who builded it upon a vault above ground so that men are forced to goe to ascend up thereunto by certain steppes.'¹

S. Mary
Cole-
church

The church was a curacy, being appropriated to the chapel of S. Thomas of Acon, the property of the Mercers' Company, who appointed the curate. But it must have had an earlier history if the statement be correct that Henry IV granted a licence to William Marshall and others to found a brotherhood of S. Katherine therein, because Thomas Becket and Edmund the Archbishop were baptized there.² These two events take us back to the twelfth century. Moreover, Stow tells us that Peter, priest and chaplain of this church, rebuilt the timber bridge over the Thames which had been burnt in the year 1163, and that thirteen years afterwards he commenced the building of the stone bridge.³

The Church of S. Mildred, Bread Street, dated from before 1291. It is one of two churches dedicated to this saint, who is reputed to have been daughter to a Prince of West Mercia, to have lived in France, and in 676 to have become abbess of a monastery in Thanet.

S. Mildred,
Bread
Street

The first rector was Nicholas de Iford, 1333. Richard

¹ Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 266.

² See Newcourt, *Repertorium*. In the *Taxatio* of 1291 is 'Marie de Cholch.'

³ Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 23.

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Adams in 1663 was removed for nonconformity. In Baker's 'Chronicle' we find :

The 22nd Aug. 1485 . . . a great Fire was in Bread Street, in which was burnt the Parson of St. Mildred's and one other man in the Parsonage there.

The church, which was destroyed in the Great Fire, was on the west side of the street, the existing church is on the east, and harbours the parishioners of S. Margaret Moyses, who are churchless.

(xiii)

S.
Thomas
Acon

On the north side of West Chepe was the Chapel or Hospital of S. Thomas Acon (Acre). It is stated (on the authority of Radulphus de Diceto, Dean of London) that when the city of Acre was besieged, one William, chaplain to Diceto, bound himself by a vow that if he should prosper and enter the town he would build a chapel to S. Thomas the Martyr (*i.e.* Becket). William, who had 'served bodily as a Souldier,' fulfilled his vow and built the chapel and took the name of prior.¹ Another account is that Richard Cœur de Lion founded the order of S. Thomas of Acon.¹ According to Fuller, Thomas Becket was born in the place where the chapel was afterwards built.²

Ralph de Diceto was Dean of S. Paul's in 1180, and it is a fair assumption that the chapel was built at the end of the twelfth century. Another account gives the date as *c.* 1190, and the founder Thomas Fitztheobald de Helles and Agnes his wife, sister of Thomas Becket.³ According to Hennessy, Robert de Coverlee was master in 1279, but another source gives the name of Henry de Neville, 1243. The hospital was surrendered to Henry VIII in the thirtieth year of his reign

¹ See Newcourt, *Repertorium*.

² *Worthies* (1662), p. 203.

³ See a full History of the Hospital and Chapel by Sir John Watney, 1892.

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(1539), and was then sold to the Mercers' Company, who had long been patrons before becoming owners, and 'Sir John Allen, Mercer (Lord Mayor in 1525), rebuilt the Chapel and was there buried.'¹ The Common Hall of the Company was built over the chapel. The new building was conspicuous in the street, and may be traced in the view by Ralph Agas, which appeared in Queen Elizabeth's 'reign.'² The chapel was used by the public, and there were frequent references to services, and it was at one time used by Italians in London, as we read in a letter of John Chamberlain :

We are likely to have him (*i.e.* the Archbishop of Spalato) preach shortly in the Italian Church at Mercers' Chapel.³

Spalato enjoyed a brief popularity. He announced his conversion to the Anglican Church and received preferment ; but he had enemies, and—so the story runs—a ruse was adopted to get rid of him, and he was induced to believe that if he recanted his Protestantism he would be received at Rome with open arms and be promoted to a distinguished position ; instead of which on his return to Italy he was handed over to the Inquisition.

The sermon alluded to in Chamberlain's Diary was printed in Italian with an English translation, and may still be read. He did not spare abuse of his former creed, *e.g.* :

But see how extravagant the Papal doctrine is . . . viz. that it is necessary to confess to a Priest all and every of our Sinnes, etc.

And again :

The devise of sacramentall Confession and Absolution . . . is pernicious, etc.⁴

¹ Newcourt, *Repertorium*.

² A copy at the Guildhall.

³ July 5, 1617 (Camden Soc.).

⁴ 1617, pp. 4, 7, 8. To do the Archbishop justice, it is fair to add that some of his friends give him a better character.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

S. Martin Pomary

Close to the Mercers' Chapel, and in the district known as 'the Jewry,' from its many Jewish inhabitants, was the small Church of S. Martin Pomary in Ironmonger Lane. Stow has nothing to say of it except its lack of monuments, which deprived it of interest to him. The title may have arisen from the site of the church having been an orchard, or from apple trees in the vicinity. It was founded at all events not later than the thirteenth century, as it appears as S. Martin Pomarius in the 'Taxatio Ecclesiastica' of Pope Nicholas IV, made in 1291.¹ It might be noted that *Pomarius* means a seller of fruit,² and the district might have got the name rather from the selling than the growth of fruit. Mr. Hennessy suggests a possible family of Pomeroy. In Edward III's reign the patronage was with the King. Afterwards with the Priory of S. Bartholomew till the dissolution. Then again with the Crown. The church was burnt in the Fire and the parish united to that of S. Olave Jewry.

S. John Zachary

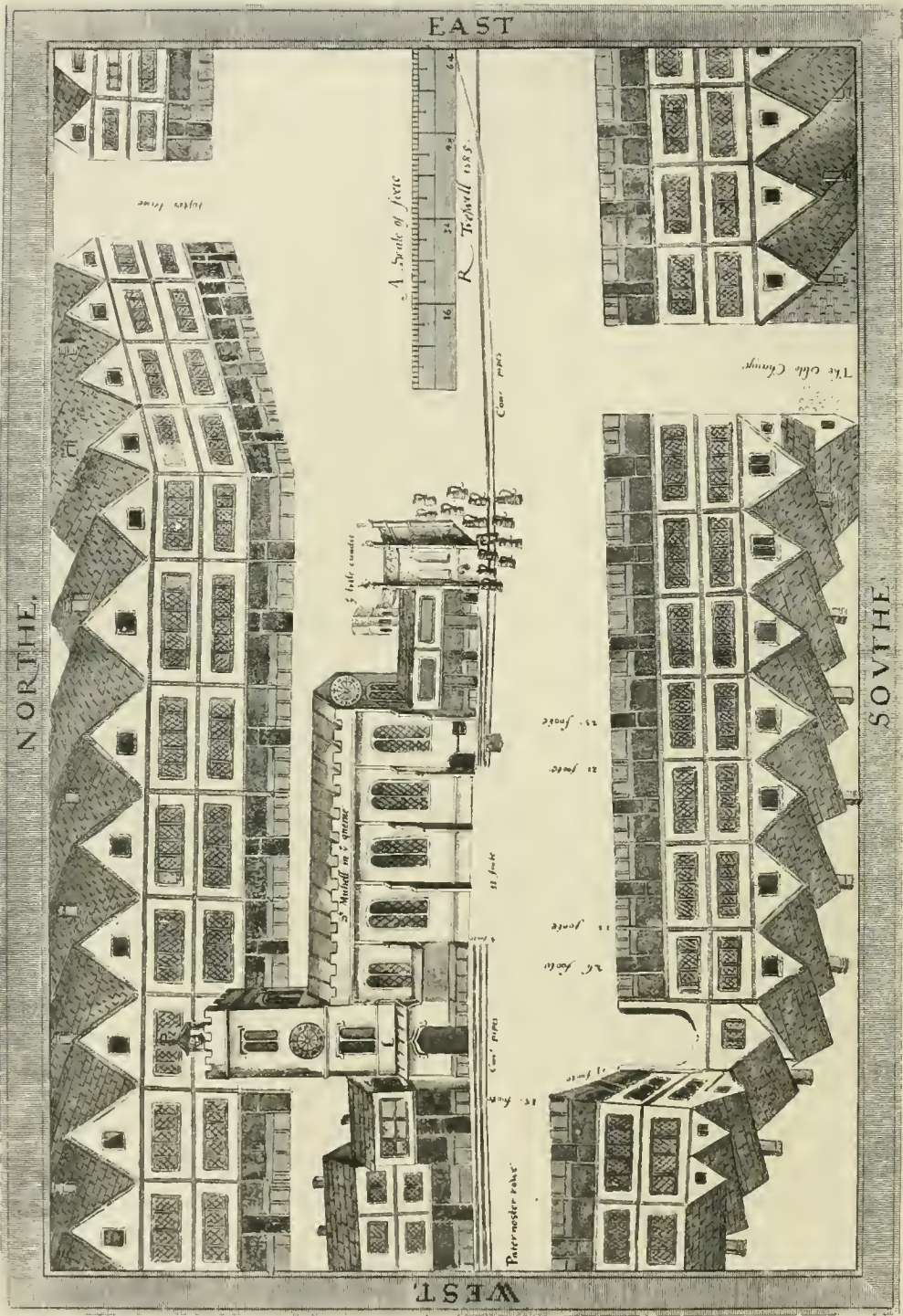
Two churches not far from the west end of Cheapside may be noticed in passing. S. John Zachary, the churchyard of which now alone remains, was near S. Martin's-le-Grand and the site of the Post Office recently pulled down. 'The Goldsmith's Hall was in the parish, and Ralph Robinson, the translator of More's "Utopia," was clerk to the Company, and was buried in the church in 1577.'³

Two of the earliest monuments were to Lichfield (called *Clericus*), who founded a chantry in 1321, and Nicholas Twyford, mayor in 1388, who, in conjunction with his wife, rebuilt the church. The original church would therefore probably have been built in the twelfth century. William Bingham, who was rector in 1441, founded a hostel in Cambridge to be governed by a

¹ Sir John Watney, in his account of S. Thomas Acon, gives an earlier mention in 1252.

² See Cooper's *Thesaurus*, 1552.

³ *Chronicles of the Parish*, 1914.



These structures, destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, have since been rebuilt, but their sites occupied by the Public Schools.

AS IT APPEARED IN THE YEAR 1585.
From a Drawing of that Period, by R. Henslow.

The principal objects are the ancient Church of St. Michael, the Queen's Chapel, and St. Paul's Gate, situated on the East End and West End.

From a Drawing of the City of London, by R. Henslow.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

proctor and twenty-five scholars, all to be men 'studying the refinements of grammar.' In 1642 the rector, Phillip Eldlyn, was sequestered for his loyalty.¹ The second name in the dedication has caused some speculation, as the father of S. John the Baptist could hardly be intended. A certain Zacharius living in the parish, and probably a benefactor, has been suggested. But a simple way out of the difficulty is to assume that Zachary was used as a surname and to distinguish John, son of Zachary, from John, son of Zebedee.

The great religious house (monastery or college) of S. Martin-le-Grand, near S. Paul's, was founded in 1056 by two brothers, Ingilricus and Girardus, and confirmed by William the Conqueror. It was altered and repaired in 1367. The church and advowson were given by Henry VII (in his eighteenth year) to the Monastery of S. Peter, Westminster. In the reign of Edward VI the college was surrendered and the church destroyed in 1548, and 'a tavern built on the east part of it'—so Heylyn writes. Touching on the question of sanctuary already mentioned, the following are interesting.]

From Coke's 'Institutes':

The Abbot of Westminster exhibited his Bill to the King against the Sheriffs of London for arresting and drawing out with force a privileged person out of the sanctuary of S. Martin's le grand. The Sheriffs were grievously fined in the Star Chamber (29 Hen. VI).

From a letter of Thos. Dorset [printed by the Camden Society:

Men sayd that the sayntuary shall aftr this setting of parliament, hold no man for dett, morder, nor felenye . . . nor Westmestre, nor S. Martyns etc. (1555).

The Church of S. Michael-at-Corne (or *ad bladum*), corrupted into 'Querne,' stood at the west end of West Chepe, close to

S. Martin-le-Grand

S. Michael Querne

¹ Newcourt.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

S. Paul's. There was formerly a corn market there : hence the name. The date of the first church was probably twelfth century. At all events there was a church there in 1181, the first year of Ralph de Diceto, Dean of S. Paul's. In early times it was neither a rectory nor vicarage, probably a curate was supplied by the Dean and Canons of S. Paul's. Thomas Newton was parson in 1461, and died and was buried there in that year. A cross of stone, known as 'the old cross,' which formerly stood at the west end of the street, was placed in this church and remained there for some years. It was also known as 'the Standard.' John Leland, the famous antiquary, lived in the parish and was buried in the church in 1552. The church was not rebuilt after the Fire, and the parish was united to that of S. Vedast, which is near by. Laurance was rector during the Civil War, and was ejected by sequestration.

S. Vedast

The Church of S. Vedast,¹ close to the last mentioned, stands at the corner of Foster Lane (Foster being a corruption of Vedast), and is one of the thirteen 'Peculiars.'

It is on record that John de Ruberge was priest in charge, or possibly rector, in 1291. Thomas Rotherham, who was rector in 1465, afterwards became Bishop of Rochester. He was chaplain to Edward IV, but imprisoned by Richard (when Protector) as being a friend to the younger Edward. He was Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Chancellor of the University, and was munificent in his benefactions both to Cambridge and Oxford. John Batty, rector in the time of the Civil War, was sequestered and died before the Restoration.

The first church must have dated from the thirteenth century, if not earlier. Dugdale calls it S. Vedast, and Amand says it was under the patronage of Christchurch, Canterbury (*Monasticon*, ed. 1846 i. 88). It seems to have been newly

¹ S. Vedast was Bishop of Arras about A.D. 484.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

built in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Henry Coot, sheriff, who died in 1509, added a chapel dedicated to S. Dunstan. In 1614 it was repaired and enlarged. It was not entirely destroyed in the Fire. The tower stood till 1694, but was rebuilt in the next century.

With John Stow the monuments in a church were the chief feature of interest, and he is rather contemptuous of the little Church of S. Olave in Silver Street : ' A small thing and without any noteworthy monuments.' The date of the original church was earlier than 1291, the date of the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas, in which the church is called 'Olav de Mokewell' (*i.e.* Monkwell). We are told of a certain priest or curate in charge, Roger de Shardelawe, in 1343. The church was rebuilt in 1609. The income was stated to be £83, including the value of the parsonage. It was not rebuilt after the Fire, but the parish was joined to that of S. Alban, Wood Street. A small piece of the churchyard may still be seen in Falcon Square, and is used as a public resting-place.

S. Olave,
Silver
Street

Two churches within the City and one—Shoreditch—without were dedicated to S. Leonard, who was Bishop of Limoges in the sixth century, and is traditionally credited with possessing the miraculous power of releasing from prison such prisoners as appealed to him for intercession.

S. Leonard's, Foster Lane, formerly stood on the west side of that street, being a small parish church designed for people of S. Martin-le-Grand, and founded by the dean and canons of the priory in the thirteenth century. Outside the church was a monument to John Brokeitwell, one of the founders or new builders of the church, with this epitaph :

S.
Leonard,
Foster
Lane

Al yat wil gud wurkes wurch,
Prey for yem yat help thys Church
Geuyng almys : fur Cherite
Pater noster and Ave.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

The Goldsmiths' Hall was within a few yards of the church, within which was to be seen an epitaph to a goldsmith of repute who died in 1526:

When the bells be merely rounge
And the Masse devoutly sounge
And the meate merely eaten
Then sall Robert Trappis, his wyffs
and his children be forgotten.

His daughter Joyce was not forgotten, for, having married a rich husband, she became a benefactor to Brasenose College, Oxford, and a monument was put up to her memory in this church.

Francis Quarles, the somewhat eccentric poet, well known as the author of 'The Emblems,' was buried here in 1644.

And so quietly gave up his soul to God after he had lived two and fifty yeares and lyeth buried in this Parish Church of S^t Leonard in Foster Lane.¹

The first rector of the church was William de Tyryngton, who died in 1325. William Ward was rector in 1636, and was censured by a committee of Parliament for innovations. He was forced to fly, plundered, and at last died of want. The living being in the gift of Archbishop Laud, he was compelled against his will to appoint George Smith, the elect of the parishioners, who petitioned Parliament for that purpose.

In 1636 the yearly income, including a house, was £139. The church was burnt in the Great Fire and not rebuilt, the parish being united to that of Christchurch.

The small Church of Trinity-the-Less was in Knightrider Street, near to Little Trinity Lane. It was built before 1291,

Trinity-
the-Less

¹ *Life* by Ursula Quarles.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

and there is a record that John Fort, probably appointed as priest in charge from S. Mary Overie's, served there in 1325. After the suppression the patronage was with the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. In 1607 it was in danger of falling and was pulled down and rebuilt.

In the Return of 1636 the income, including the value of the parsonage, was stated to be £85 per annum. Thomas Marshall was the first rector in 1407. During the Civil War, Edward Harrison, the rector, was ejected and died of grief. Matthew Haviland occupied his place till the Restoration, when he was deprived for nonconformity. The church was burnt in the Great Fire, and the parish annexed to that of S. Michael, Queen Hithe.

This latter church, also known as S. Michael-de-Cornhith, dated from the twelfth century, and in the Taxation of 1291 is called S. Michael ad Ripam. 'A convenient church, but all the monuments there are defaced,' so Stow says.

S.
Michael,
Queen
Hithe

Newcourt gives the name of Job Cralling as rector in 1355. Richard Marlow, who was Mayor in 1409, founded a chantry. The rector in 1642, John Hill, was ejected for his loyalty.

S. Mary Mounthaw, or Mounthaunt, stood on Old Fish Street Hill, Thames Street, near to Queen Hithe, and was at first only a chapel for the Norfolk family of Mounthaunts, who had a house near by. This house was bought by the Bishop of Hereford in 1234 and used as the Bishop's 'Place,' he being then patron of the living. We hear of the church being newly built and enlarged in 1609. Thomas de London was the first rector, and was chaplain to King Edward III. Thomas Thrاله, rector in 1630, was sequestered. The church was not rebuilt after the Fire, and the parish was annexed to that of S. Mary Somerset.

S. Mary
Mount-
haw

Not far off was the Church of S. Mary Bothaw (or Boatehaw), a name arising from the circumstance that it was (so Stow tells us) 'adjoyning to an haw or yeard where of old time boats

S. Mary
Bothaw

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

were made and landed from Downegate to be mended.' It was approached by a narrow lane on the south side of Candlewick Street, near to London Stone. Sir Henry Fitz Alwyn, the first Lord Mayor, lived in the parish and was buried in the church. His arms were in one of the windows.¹ There was a monument to Queen Elizabeth here. A small cloister adjoined the church, and 'many persons of worshippe,' so Stow says, were buried there, but in his time many of the monuments were defaced.

The church was one of the thirteen known as 'Peculiars.'² It was destroyed in the Great Fire, but, like many other churches, part of the walls and steeple remained standing, though not in a safe condition. By order of the Mayor they were taken down in 1669 and the material used in the rebuilding of the Church of S. Swithin, to which parish S. Mary Bothaw was united. The site is now covered by Cannon Street railway station.

**S. Martin-
Orgar**

S. Martin-Orgar, in S. Martin's Lane, Candlewick Street, took its second title from Odgarus (or Ordgarus), who some time before Richard I gave the church, as well as that of S. Botolph, Billingsgate, to the canons of S. Paul's Cathedral. There is a tradition of an earlier foundation by Orgar the Dane in 900 A.D. This is so stated on a tablet placed on the site in recent times.

In 1413 William Crowmer, Mayor, added a chapel, and was buried there in 1433. Bryan Walton, the author of 'Biblia Polyglotta,' was rector, and became Bishop of Chester in 1660. The church was rebuilt after the Fire, and the parish was joined to that of S. Clement Eastcheap. The church as rebuilt remained till 1826, and was then taken down. The tower, however, still stands, and the churchyard remains and is planted

¹ See note in Mr. Kingsford's edition of Stow.

² See S. Mary-le-Bow, p. 184.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

with trees. In the Return made in 1636 the income was stated to be £87, exclusive of the parsonage.

The Church of S. Mary Somerset, or Summers Hythe, was near Broken Wharf, on the north side of Thames Street. William Swansey is mentioned as rector in 1335, but the church must have been much older than the fourteenth century. In a deed of the twelfth century mention is made of a certain 'Ernald the priest of S. Mary Sumerset.'¹

S. Mary
Somerset

John Cook was rector in 1631, and was sequestered during the Civil War, but reinstated at the Restoration.

The second name in the title may possibly be that of a benefactor, or owner of adjacent land. The church was burnt down in the Fire and rebuilt, the parish of S. Mary Mount-haunt being annexed. Nothing remains of the rebuilt church except the tower. A small piece of the churchyard may be seen fenced in.

A new chapel was built about the year 1405. It is alluded to in a will of that date, in which the testator desired to be buried in the new chapel 'if it should be built at the time of his decease.' The following is an extract from a Return made by the churchwardens in the sixth year of King Edward VI by order of a Commission for seizing church goods :

Item one chalice all gilte wayenge xvj vnces
 „ A canapie of golde and grene velvett
 „ Five bells of a ringe in our churche steple and a sanct^s bell
 „ A payr of organs
 „ Sold—The coate for the Image of our ladye and her sonne of grene silke and red damaske x^s ²

¹ See note in Mr. Kingsford's edition of Stow's *Survey*.

² *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, Feb. 10, 1868.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

(xiv)

S. Giles,
Cripplegate

The old city wall, following the line of the present street called 'London Wall' (formerly Curriers' Row), passed the end of Wood Street and the Cripples-gate and took the line of the present Hart Street to Monkwell Street. At that point it made a right-angle turn southwards. Outside the wall to the west of the Cripples-gate, stood, and still stands, the old Church of S. Giles-without-Cripplegate, its churchyard extending up to, or nearly up to, the wall. Indeed it is said that the churchyard is the site of the old Roman fosse or ditch. The church faced Redcross Street. The connection of the Gate with Cripples has always been a source of speculation with writers on London from the time of Stow, and still wants elucidation. Possibly the patron saint of the church may have something to do with the gate. Saint Giles (or Egidius) was an Athenian, bred in France and buried at Nîmes, and was the patron of beggars. The story runs that he gave the coat off his back to a sick beggar, who, putting it on, was miraculously healed. Tradition says the saint was lame, and 'as lame as S. Giles's Cripplegate' is an old saw.¹ It is said that he 'desired not to be healed, and wished to keep his lameness as a mortification.'

The original church was built about 1090 by Alfune, afterwards first Hospitaller of S. Bartholomew's Hospital. Speed tells of a Brotherhood of S. Mary and S. Giles. Stow gives the foundation of the church as being the work of John Balancer in 1360, but this must be an error. It was repaired in that year by John Balancer, and probably at that time the church, like many others, would have appeared partly Norman and partly the 'decorated Gothic' which prevailed in the fourteenth century. This was the church that was destroyed, or partially

¹ Here there may have been a punning allusion, *sc.* 'Cripple gait.'

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

destroyed, by fire in 1544 according to a chronicle of the time of Henry VIII.

The xij day of September, Satterday in y^e mornyng a boutte five of the Klocke was saynt Iylis Churche burned, belles and alle, w^t oute Crepille gate.¹

Not, it would seem, entirely destroyed, for Stow, writing about fifty years later, says, 'A very fayre and large Church lately repaired after that the same was burned in the yeare 1545.' In 1623 there were repairs, 'the inside very curiously clouded,' and in 1629 the steeple was much altered, the four corner turrets being extended in height and a cupola placed in the centre.² A drawing of 1739 shews the church with a three-storied tower surmounted by a bell-turret or cupola. The windows of the nave on the south side all have the low arches typical of the late Perpendicular period. In the south aisle five out of six of the windows appear of an older date. Since that time the aspect of the church has much changed, and there has been a good deal of judicious restoration in our own time.

The church has acquired much fame from having been the burial-place of John Milton in 1674. He was buried beside his father. Nicholas Breton, the poet, according to the register, was here married to Ann Sutton in 1592. One notes that one of Breton's poems is entitled 'The Unquiet Wife,' but the poem need not have been inspired by personal reflections.

John Speed, the antiquary and historian, was buried here, in 1629, as also was another antiquary, Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, who died in 1588. Other well-known names are Sir John Wriothesley, John Fox, the author of 'Acts and Monuments,' and Sir Martin Frobisher, who was Vice-Admiral in Drake's

¹ 1544. *London Chronicle*, Cotton MS.

² Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

West India expedition of 1586, and who died in 1594 of wounds received in action.

It is on record that Vitalis was vicar of the church in 1181.¹ Roger Covert was appointed in 1539. His name occurs in an early record :

Roger Covartes is parson of this same Church which benefice is worth yerlie 28*li*.²

In the Return of 1636 the income of the living is put at a much higher sum. We find Archbishop Parker complaining of the conduct of Robert Crowley, vicar in 1566 :

I am complained to that Crowley and his curate gave a great occasion of much trouble yesterday in his Church for expelling divers clerks which were in their surplices to bury a dead corse as customably they use.³

We found that Crowley quarrelled with the singing men for their ' porters' coats ' and said that he would shut the doors against them.⁴

Launcelot Andrews was vicar here from 1588 to 1605. John Buckeridge, who was vicar in 1604, became Bishop of Rochester. William Fuller, who was vicar at the beginning of the Rebellion in 1641, was sequestered and imprisoned for his loyalty, and died one year before the Restoration.

The Dean and Chapter of S. Paul were patrons of the vicarage and impropriators of the rectory.⁵

S. James-
in-the-
Wall

Near by was the chapel of S. James-in-the-Wall, which Stow wrongly includes in his list of parish churches.

It belonged to the Abbey and Conuent of Garadon, as appeareth by a Recorde the 27 of Edward the first. In the 16 of Edward III William de Lion was hermit there, and the Abbot and Convent of

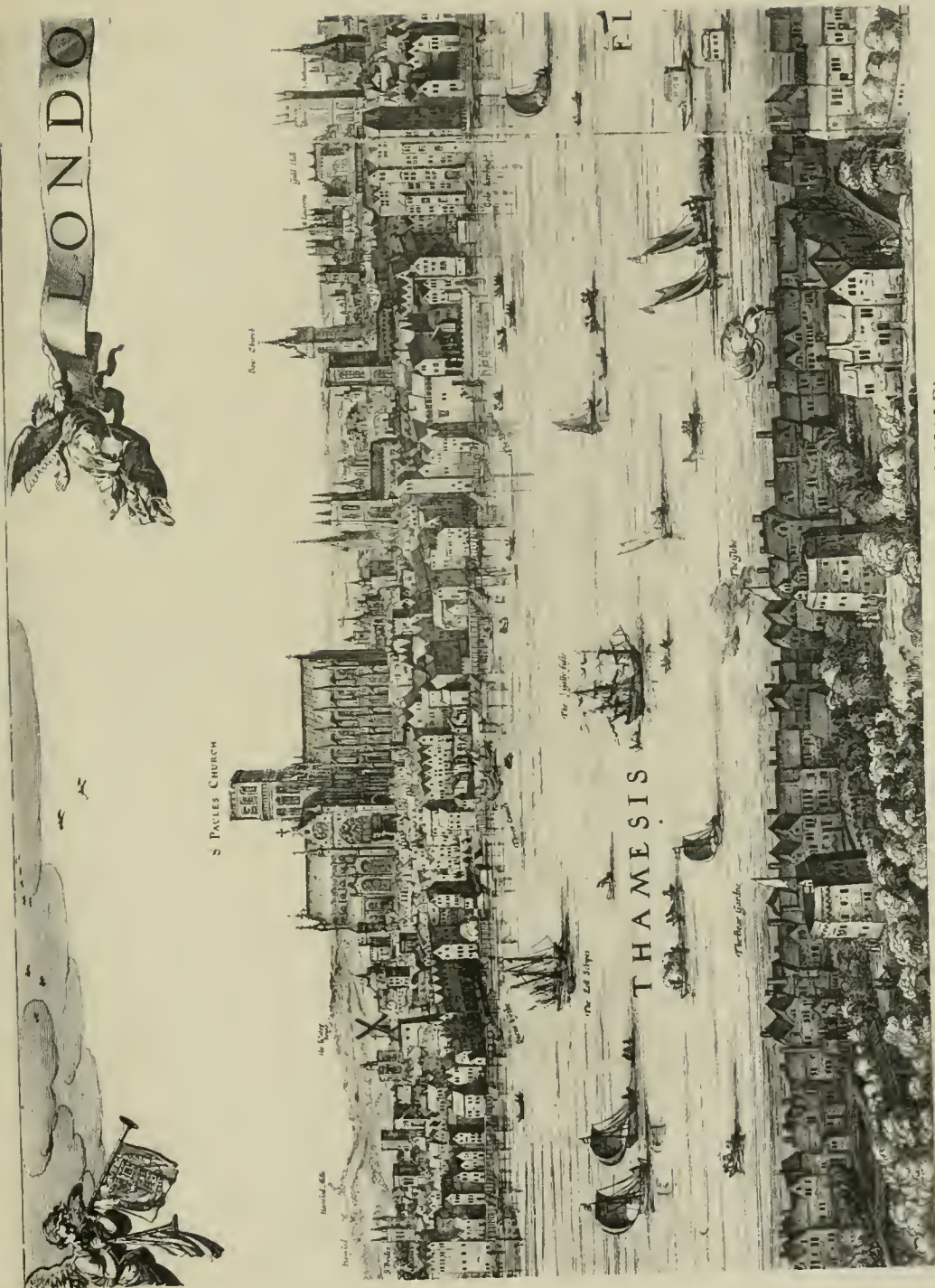
¹ Hennessy's *Novum Repertorium*.

² *Ibid*.

³ Letter to Sir Wm. Cecil, April 3, 1566. (Parker Soc., p. 275.)

⁴ *Ibid*. p. 276.

⁵ Hennessy.



VISSCHER'S LONG VIEW (WESTERN HALF)

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

Geredon founded two chantries . . . one of them for Aymor de Valence, Earle of Pembroke and Mary de Saint Paule his Countess.¹

A later version is that it was Marie de Saint Paule who founded the chantry in the hermitage and endowed it in 1343 (by means of a grant to the Abbot of Gardendon) for the good of her husband's soul.²

The approximate locality of the chapel seems to be close to the bastion of the old city wall where it turns at a right angle near to the junction of the present Hart Street with Monkwell Street. Part of the old wall is still to be seen in the churchyard of S. Giles. The well attached thereto gave a name to Monkwell Street adjacent. This chapel or hermitage was granted by Henry VIII to William Lambe, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal; but Stow has it that Lambe purchased it of Edward VI. By Lambe's will, dated 1574, it passed to the Clothworkers' Company.

To the Guild or Fraternity of the Assumption of B.V. Mary of the Art or Mystery of Clothworkers . . . certain lands and tenements in the parishes of S. James in the Wall near Cripplegate, etc.³

The biographer of William Lambe states that the property was given

for the hiring of a minister to reade diuine service thrise a weeke in the Chapell . . . belonging to his house called by the name of S. James in the Wall by Criplegate.⁴

¹ Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 318. In the Calendar of Charter Rolls (V. 37), Walter de Sancta Cruce is mentioned as Keeper of the Chapel in 1345.

² See 'Mary de Sancto Paulo,' by Hilary Jenkinson. *Archæologia*, vol. lxxvi. There was, we are told, a crypt with Norman columns and zig-zag mouldings. (See *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 345.)

³ *Cal. of Wills*, Court of Hustings, pt. ii. p. 703.

⁴ *A Memorial of William Lambe* (1580), C. iv.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

(xv)

References to churches naturally induce some thoughts of their parsons, curates, vicars, or rectors, and more especially of the trying ordeal they passed through between the years 1641 to 1647, when the greater number were deprived of their livings. In a few cases really serious offences were alleged of an immoral character ; but in most it was sufficient cause for deprivation to be a malignant against the Parliament or an enemy to frequent preaching. The 'Odium Theologicum' was intense. It is instructive to collate two publications of 1647. One was issued by the Church Party in the form of a broadside entitled :

A Generall Bill of Mortality of the Clergie of London which have been defunct by reason of the contagious breath of the Sectaries of that City from the yeere 1641 to 1647. . . . A brief Martyrologie of the learned Grave Religious and Painfull Ministers of the City of London who have been imprisoned, plundered, barbarously used and deprived of all livelihood &c.¹

This was answered by a tract signed J. V., dated 1647 and called :

A succinct Traiterologie in answer to a lying Martyrologie and Catalogue of the Gracelesse and Godlesse lazie Levites and proud Prelatical Priests of the City of London . . . who have been justly imprisoned and deprived of their Estates.¹

In each document a list is given of deprivations with the reason and the result. A few specimens are given.

Concerning S. Peter's, Cornhill, the broadside, known as 'The Martyrologie,' says :

D^r Fairfax sequestred, pleundred, imprisoned in Ely-House and his wife and children turned out of doors.

¹ From the original copies in the British Museum.

CHURCHES EAST OF S. PAUL'S

The 'Traiterologie' says :

D^r Fairfax sequestred for being a proud prelaticall pluralist and profane in his life and conversation, a drunken frequenter of tippling houses, a frequent profaner of the Lords Dayes by carding ; an impious enemy to preaching of the word, a notorious incontinent and lustful Priest and desperate malignant.

Concerning the Church of S. Sepulchre, the ' Martyrologie ' only has :

Master Pigot the Lecturer turned out.

The ' Traiterologie ' states :

Mr. Pigot of Sepulchres outed thence for being a common pot-companion, drinking healths by casting dice for most cups, a notorious ceremony monger and desperate malignant.

Of S. Margaret's, Lothbury, the ' Martyrologie ' states :

M. Tabor, plundered, imprisoned in the King's Bench, his wife and children turned out of doors at midnight and he sequestered.

The ' Traiterologie ' has :

' M. Tabor of Margaret Lothbury sequestered for being a most popishly affected ceremony-monger, a proud pontifical enemy to frequent preaching and a most desperate malignant against the Parliament.

As to S. Clement's, Eastcheap, the ' Martyrologie ' reads :

M. Stone shamefully abus'd ; sequester'd, sent prisoner to Plymouth and plundered.

The ' Traiterologie ' replies :

M. Stone of Clement Eastcheap sequestred for being a notorious stoney-hearted proud and rotten-hearted pontifical Ceremony-monger, a Popish apostate of a general infamous life and desperate malignant.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

As to S. Augustine's (the church in Old Change) the 'Traiterologie' has :

Mr. Udall sequestred for making and maintaining most proudly and presumptuously a wicked book intituled 'Noli me Tangere,' wherein he aspersed the Parliament.

The 'Martyrologie' reads :

Mr. Udall sequestred, his Bed-rid wife turned out of doors and left in the street.

In the cases of clergymen dying from hardships suffered the 'Traiterologie' has marginal notes 'Died of Malignancy.' It is curious to note that sixty years earlier, viz. in 1586, a clergyman bearing the name of Udall was prosecuted for his hostility to Episcopacy.

CHURCHES NORTH AND
WEST OF S. PAUL'S
AND IN THE
CITY OF WESTMINSTER

CHAPTER IV

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

(i)

THE Gateway Arch in S. John's Lane, Clerkenwell, is all that is now left to us above ground of the Priory of the Knights Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem, to which it formed the southern entrance.

S. John
of Jeru-
salem

The archway and gatehouse has seen many changes, and served many purposes. In the eighteenth century it was the printing-office of Edward Cave, and in 1731 the birthplace of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' which famous periodical was adorned with its picture. It was for many years known as the Jerusalem Tavern—not a very pleasurable form of reminiscence ; but in recent years the building has been acquired and used by a modern order of Knights of S. John, whose profession is more humanitarian than military, and whose badge of the Red Cross is world-famous.

The priory church dated from the twelfth century, the dedication by Heraclius being in the same year as that of the Temple Church :

In y^e yere of Christ 1185 y^e vj Ides of Merche y^e dominical lettre being F y^e Chirche of y^e Hospitall of S. John Jerusalem was dedycatyed to y^e honor of S. John Baptiste by y^e worschypfull fader Araclius, Patriake of y^e resurrection of Christe.¹

The church must have closely resembled that of the Temple, the circular part 65 feet in diameter with columns supporting

¹ From Cottonian MS. See *Middx. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, iii. 164.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

the roof, with a rectangular choir adjoining ; the style semi-Norman and Early-English. The church, or so much of it as was above ground, was burnt by the rebels of Essex and Kent in 1381, and rebuilt in 1504 by Prior Docwra, who added a tower. The priory was dissolved by Henry VIII in 1540. The Act for suppression passed through the House of Commons in eight days.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury in his ' Life of Henry VIII ' gives the following brief explanation and comment :

It was enacted that the Lands and Goods of St. Johns in Jerusalem should be in the Kings disposition, for which these reasons chiefly were pretended. Because (they) drew yearly great sums of money out of the Kingdom ; that they maintained the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome ; that they defamed and slandered the King &c. . . . Nevertheless certain Pensions were allowed unto the Pryor and others. . . .

And thus fell that Ancient and pious order not without much scandal abroad both to the King and Government.¹

No reverence was shewn for the buildings, and we find in 1549 the Protector Somerset using the materials in the erection of his new palace in the Strand that he did not live to complete :

The steeple and most parts of the Church of St. John's of Jerusalem, most beautifully built not long before by Dockuray (Docwra), a later Prior thereof, was blown up with gunpowder and the stone thereof employed to that purpose.²

But the destruction was not complete, for Machyn enters in his Diary :

The XV day (March 1550) the Lady Mary rode through London unto St. Johns, her place.³

¹ *Life of Henry VIII*, 1649, p. 461.

² Peter Heylin, *Ecclesia Restaurata*, 1849, i. 152.

³ *Diary of H. Machyn* (Camden Soc.), p. 4.

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View looking east in the remaining part of the cloisters, being the south side, belonging to the Priory Church, Clarendonwell, Taken 1787.

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And the chapel must have been left, as the same writer has an entry five years later, Mary then being Queen :

The XXIX day of August 1555, the day of Decolacyon of St. John Baptyst, the Marchant Tayllers kept a masse at Saint Johnes beyond Smyt-feld . . . and after masse to the Tayllers' Halle to dener.¹

It thus seems clear that portions of the church were useable in Queen Mary's time, and traces of the old building remain in the church now on the site,² and the ancient crypt remains and is in a good state of preservation. There was an enlargement of this in the thirteenth century by the addition of a beautiful Early-English chapel still in existence and used for services. Some slight traces of the stonework of the round church are still visible, and in the open space in front of the existing church part of a circle of paving stones marks the position of the foundations of the wall. The tower was evidently conspicuous. Stow writes :

The great Bell Tower, a most curious piece of workemanshippe, grauen, guilt and inameled to the great beautifying of the Cittie.³

According to Stow, some of the material was used in building the 'faire stone porch' of 'All Hallows Barking.' Also the bells were bought for 'All Hallows' but not taken away.

No traces of the cloisters remain, but some portions were standing at the end of the eighteenth century, for a water-colour drawing dated 1787 shews the south side.⁴

¹ *Diary of H. Machyn* (Camden Soc.), p. 93.

² See a description of the church, by H. W. Fincham.

³ Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 438.

⁴ To be seen in the Print Room at the British Museum, and is here reproduced. Mr. H. W. Fincham (in his 'Order of the Hospital of S. John,' 1915) writes that when the Clerkenwell Road was constructed some of the carved stonework of the cloisters was used for the foundations of a bank then being built.

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Queen Mary in her brief reign restored some of the religious houses, but another record shews us that her efforts were nullified on Elizabeth's accession :

And those houses which had been either erected or else restored and repayred by Queene Mary ; as the Priory of Saint John of Jerusalem . . . were agayne suppressed (1559).¹

We find that the chapel and other buildings were used under Queen Elizabeth for the ' Office of the Revels ' :

The saied church or chapel and other buildings is converted and used by the said officers of the toils and Tentes . . . and for other necessities.²

Also in Henry VIII's time :

A Storehouse for the King's Toils and Tents for hunting.³

Samuel Daniel in his ' History of Henry III ' has a passage worth citing, inasmuch as it shews the status and authority of the head of a great religious house at the period (1252, 36 Henry III) :

Boldly is he (the King) . . . reprooved by the Master of the Hospitall of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell, who, comming to complain of an injury committed against their Charter, the King told him :

The Prelates, and especially the Templars and Hospitalers, had so many Liberties and Charters that their riches made them proud and their pride mad, and that those things which were unadvisedly granted were with discretion to be revoked.

What say you Sir (sayd the Prior), God forbid so ill a word should proceed out of your mouth. *So long as you observe justice you may be a King and as soon as you violate the same you shall leave to be a King.*⁴

John Lydgate, usually known as ' the Monk of Bury,' in a

¹ Sir John Hayward (1636), *Annals of the First Four Years of Queen Elizabeth* (1840), p. 28.

² ' Survey of the Hospital of St. John.' See Feuillerat, *Office of the Revels*, p. 47.

³ Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

⁴ 1613 (edition 1650, p. 168).

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ballad-poem on Henry V, describes his marriage with Katherine of Valois at S. John's, presumably this church. The banns were thrice published according to law :

In the Chirch thries of Seint Johan
Liche the custome of new and yore agon
Thries published in open audience,
As the lawe byndeth in sentence.

Then came the wedding :

But in his chirche than parochialle
Of Seint Johan he came with good entent
For to receive the holy sacrement
Of mariage he and Katerine.¹

But if Lydgate is correct, and we must remember he was living at the time, this must have been a duplication of the French nuptials, as the Chronicles say the marriage was at S. Peter's Church at Troyes on June 3, 1420. The earliest English life of Henry V, written in 1513, a translation of Titus Livius, confirms this.

The historian relates how on May 21 in the cathedral church at Trois the terms of peace were settled, and how on June 3

the Sacrement of Matrimonie was solemnly sacred betwixt the most victorious Kinge Henrie of Englande and that excellent and glorious Lady, Dame Katheryn, daughter to King Charles of Fraunce and to Dame Isabell the Queene.²

Jordan Briset,³ the founder of S. John's Priory in the eleventh century,⁴ had previously founded a priory of nuns in the near vicinity. This was dedicated to S. Mary, and, being

S. Mary
Priory
Church

¹ T. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, ii. pp. 136-137.

² (Clarendon Press, 1911), p. 162.

³ Stow's *Survey* (1603), p. 15.

⁴ In Newcourt's *Reperitorium* Garnerius is given as the first prior. Hennessy gives the name of Walter as prior in 1140.

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near the well, was called 'Ecclesia beatae Mariae de Fonte Clericorum.'

The priory was occupied by Black Nuns of the Benedictine Order. The last prioress was Isabel Sackville, one of the Sackville family ancestors of the Earl of Dorset. On the ruins of the priory was erected the Church of S. James, which Stow does not mention by name, though he has a brief allusion to Clerkenwell Church.

S. James,
Clerken-
well

The old Church of S. James, Clerkenwell, was taken down in 1758, but drawings of it when in a state of ruin shew traces of a fine Gothic building with a tower. The spire was something of a byword !

Nor can the lofty spire of Clerkenwell,
Although he have the vantage of a Rocke,
Pearch up more high his turning weather-cock.¹

Stow has it that 'the sayd Church tooke name of the well and the well tooke name of the Parish Clarkes who of old time were accustomed there yearely to assemble and to play some large hystorie of holy Scripture.'

In this church was buried William Weston, the last prior of S. John's, who died on the day of the dissolution of the priory, and did not live to enjoy the pension of £1000 a year allotted to him. Here also, by her own desire, was laid to rest Isabel Sackville, the last prioress of S. Mary's. John Weever, the author of 'Ancient Funeral Monuments,' was buried here in 1632, as was also at a later date Bishop Burnet. Of Weever it was said :

Lancashire gave him breath
And Cambridge education.
His studies are of Death
Of Heaven his meditation.

¹ 1634. *Pasquils Palinodia*, B 3.



North side

South side

PART OF
WITH the REMAINS of the SOUTH TRANSEPT
IN WEST

1800 P.



THE CHOIR
of the CHURCH of ST. BARTHOLOMEW the Great
SMITHFIELD.

By J. G. Wilkinson Engraved by

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

'On the east side of this Ducke Lane,' so writes Stow, 'and also of Smithfield, lyeth the late dissolued priorie of St. Bartilmew founded by Rahere, a pleasant witted gentleman, and therefore in his time called the Kinges Minstrell.' Dugdale adds that Rahere had formerly been 'a Droll or Jester but that St. Bartholomew appeared to him in a vision and commanded him to build the Church.'

S. Bartho-
lomew
the Great

Rahere's antecedents are of little consequence to us; his name remains as a great founder, and his church, even as now left to us—little more than the choir and transepts and Lady Chapel (in Stow's time a portion of the choir only), is pre-eminent among London churches, and affords one of the few specimens we have of twelfth century Norman or Transition work.

The early history of the church is somewhat difficult to trace clearly, but it would seem there was an ancient parish church there before the priory was built, and that it still remained for a time adjacent to the priory church. At the dissolution the nave of the priory church being pulled down, the choir was annexed to the old parish church. In Queen Mary's time the old church was given to the Black Friars, who used it as a conventual church, but in Queen Elizabeth's reign it was again restored to the parish. In 1628 the old parish church, except the tower, which was of timber, was pulled down. In course of time the old tower decayed, and was rebuilt of brick and stone. This still stands, and forms the entrance to the choir of the priory church. The porch with the figure of Rahere is modern. The churchyard is the site of the nave of the old priory church, which has altogether disappeared, though some fragments of the stonework of the shafts may be seen in the churchyard. It was thirteenth-century work, and about 150 feet in length. The church as a whole was of fine proportions and, including the choir and Lady Chapel, must have measured nearly 350 feet in length. The present

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west front was built in Henry VIII's time after the destruction of the nave.

Entering at the west we see the work of Rahere, who died in 1143, consisting of the choir of the church, a beautiful specimen of Norman work in the lower portion and triforium. The Norman clerestory is no longer to be seen, having been replaced by Gothic windows at the beginning of the fifteenth century. At this time there was a rectangular termination to the choir at the east end, and the semicircular apse which we now see is a judicious addition in harmony with the rest of the building, and in accordance with the original plan.

The two transepts were built in the twelfth century, but most of the work we now see is restoration. The north transept had for many years been used as a blacksmith's forge when it was restored in 1893.

A very effective feature in the church is the ambulatory encircling the apse and leading to the Lady Chapel. This is for the most part restoration work. Rahere's original Lady Chapel was rebuilt in the fourteenth century, and at the suppression in 1539 was sold for secular purposes, and was, in fact, at one time a fringe factory. The tomb of the founder is on the north side of the sanctuary, the recumbent figure of Rahere being covered by a canopy of elaborate Gothic carved work of the early fifteenth century. On the opposite side of the choir is what is called Prior Bolton's window, an oriel in the Tudor style, constructed in one of the arches of the Norman triforium. Bolton was prior in the early sixteenth century; he was an architect, and is said to have designed Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster. He left his mark on S. Bartholomew's, for his device, the bolt-in-tun, was carved in many places in the stonework. He was prior from 1505 to 1532, when he died only eight years before the priory was surrendered.

The crypt is under the Lady Chapel. It has been restored,

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but the walls, piers, and windows are the original work; also some of the arches. The crypt was originally a charnel-house. After the dissolution it became a wine-cellar. It is now the parish mortuary.

The cloisters were on the south-west side of the priory church. A small portion of the site has been rescued from secular use, and restored in accordance with the character of Gothic work of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

The beautiful gateway arch by which the church is now approached from Smithfield is all that is left of the west front of the nave, and was the entrance to the south aisle. There were originally two rooms over this in lay ownership. The great west door was to the north of this.

There were four chapels attached to the church. Three of them on the north side of the choir have entirely disappeared. These were, the parish chapel, dedicated to 'All Saints'; S. Anne's Chapel, and the Chapel of S. Bartholomew. The Chapel of S. Stephen was on the south side, and had a semicircular end, as may still be seen, as a portion of the stone foundations remain. A new vestry has been built on the site. The bell tower was destroyed with the church. It contained, to use Stow's words, 'sixe Belles in a tune.' These were sold to the parish of S. Sepulchre.

The church was in a very neglected condition during Queen Elizabeth's reign. The steeple of the old church, as Stow wrote, 'of rotten timber readie to fall of itselfe.' But later on the parish 'repayred the old woodden steeple to serve their turne.' As a parish church S. Bartholomew's never attained the importance of Christ Church (the Grey Friars), nor do we find it the burial-place of many great men of the day. In 'Payne Fisher's List' the name of Sir Walter Mildmay, Privy Councillor to Queen Elizabeth, appears.

The church was a rectory from the time of Henry VIII,

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who gave the advowson to Richard Lord Rich, whose successors were afterwards Earls of Holland. The first rector was J. Dean, in 1540.¹

The parishioners were not fortunate in their rector in the reign of Charles II. The following incident is to be found in Sir Nicholas L'Estrange's anecdotes in the Harleian MSS.²

One Dr. Dee, minister of Great Saint Bartholomewes, who was a man but of a debauched life, understanding that his Parishioners did disgust him so far as that they had articted against him and ment to preferre him into the high cōmission Court . . . he thus plotted etc.

It seems that he made an offer to resign the living if they would give him a certificate of good conduct to assist him elsewhere. Being anxious to be rid of him they did so ; upon which he refused to go. The parishioners were in a dilemma, as they had laid themselves open either to a charge of falsehood or to one of collusion with their vicious vicar.

S. Bartho-
lomew
the Less

The small church known as S. Bartholomew the Less is close to the priory church. It was formerly a chapel of the Hospital, and became at the dissolution a parish church for the use of those living within the precincts. It is a vicarage, the first vicar having been John Hykelyn. A drawing by West, engraved by Toms, shews the church with a tower of the late Perpendicular period, having three stories and a single corner turret. The church has been rebuilt, and is still used in connexion with the Hospital.

Of ' Little St. Bartholomew's ' Weever writes :

This Hospital for the poor and diseased was founded by Rahere Prior

¹ Neither in Newcourt nor in Hennessy is there any account of the old parish church or of the clergy who ministered there ; nor is it included in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV, 1291. S. Bartholomew the Less (Bařtol. přv) has a place, although it was not a parish church till the Dissolution. Possibly this Bartholomew Parva is intended for the old parish church.

² No. 6395 (A.D. 1655).

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of great Saint Bartholomewes. . . . The Church remaineth a Parish to the Tenants dwelling in the precincts of the Hospitall.¹

The biographer of William Lambe, who died in 1570, wrote :

He, seene at little Saint Bartholomewes deuoutly following that godly exercise, he hath not had his eies occupied in gazing about the Church.²

Lambe was a man of many good deeds, and has already been mentioned in connexion with 'Lambe's Chapel.'

John Lyly, the author of 'Euphues,' was buried here in 1606.

(ii)

The parish church of Christ Church, Newgate Street, consecrated in 1329, reminds us of the ancient settlement here of the Franciscans or Grey Friars. What happened at the dissolution is thus described by Sir G. Buck in his 'Third Universitie' : Christ Church,
Newgate Street

The Monasterie of the Franciscans or Gray Friars, nowe called Christ Church in Newgate Market, escaped the fury by the protection and mediation of what good Angell incarnate I know not . . . and the King shortly after An. Dom. 1546 gave this house and the Church to the Cittie to be employed to pious and charitable uses whereupon the magistrates of the Cittie faithfully and religiously conuerted the Church into a parrish Church and the lodgings into an Hospitall and Grammar Schoole.³

This was some years after the suppression of the priory, which Lord Herbert of Cherbury puts at not long after 1532, adding that the canons were distributed into 'other houses of that

¹ *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 435.

² *A Memorial of William Lambe* (1580), D iv.

³ Sir G. Buck, *Third Universitie* (1615), chap. 34. The church was closed for a time and used as a store-house, the ornaments and goods being taken to the King's use.

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kind,' and the 'Church Plate and Lands bestowed on Sir Thomas Audeley, newly made Lord Chancellour';¹ but Fuller in his 'Holy State' ascribes this donation, which was the foundation of Christ's Hospital or the Blue Coat School, to Edward VI, and puts it down to the persuasive power of Ridley's eloquence in the pulpit.

Ridley was very gracious with King Edward VI and by a sermon he preached before him so wrought upon his pious disposition . . . that the King at his motion gave to the City of London Grayfriars now called Christ Church for impotent, fatherless decrepid people by age or nature, to be educated or maintained.²

Thus the ancient Church of the Grey Friars began its new career as a parish church, and must have been one of the largest, if not the largest, parish church in London, being 300 feet in length, in breadth 89 feet, and in height 64 feet. It took twenty-one years to build; Queen Margaret, second wife to Edward I, having commenced to build the choir in the year 1306, and contributed 2000 marks. John Britaine, Earl of Richmond, built the body of the church at a cost of £300. Robert Baron Lisle, who became a friar, a like sum, in those days a large amount for a private donor. Marie, Countess of Pembroke (one of her minor benefactions), £75. There were many other liberal givers mentioned by Stow, including Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who 'bestowed 20 great beams out of his forrest of Tunbridge and 20 pound Starlings.'³

Probably no other parish church contained the remains of so many of the great, there being there buried four queens, four duchesses, four countesses, one duke, two earls, eight

¹ *Life of Henry VIII* (1649), p. 343. The date of the suppression was more nearly 1538.

² Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State* (1642), lxxvi.

³ Stow's *Survey* (1603), p. 319.

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barons, thirty-five knights, etc.¹ Their monuments, which were rich in alabaster and marble, whether by Henry VIII's direction does not appear, were sold by Sir Martin Bowes, mayor, for the sum of £50, in the year 1545.² The first vicar was Thomas Brigotte, who was deprived in 1554.

Machyn in his Diary has a record of a miracle play performed in this church :

The same day (June 7, 1557) be-gane a Stage Play at the Grey freers of the Passyon of Cryst.³

In the 'Verney Papers' we find a note that Venetia, wife of Sir Kenelm Digby, is here buried :

Her husband tried to preserve her beauty by cosmetics and after her death had her bust of copper-gilt set up in the Church. The bust was injured in the fire and was afterwards seen in a broker's stall. She was painted by Vandyke.⁴

Ben Jonson flatters this beautiful lady in a poem commencing 'Sitting and ready to be drawn,' and he dwells in the needlessness in her case of elaboration in costume :

This beauty, without falsehood, fair ;
Needs nought to clothe it but the air.⁵

Of Mr. Richard Greenham, who was preacher at Christ Church in 1592, Fuller writes:

He lived sermons—a strict observer of the Lords-day.

¹ Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments*.

² Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

⁴ *Verney Papers*, 1633 (1853), p. 153.

³ *Diary*, p. 138.

⁵ 'Eupheme,' III.

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On which he wrote a treatise about which Joseph Hall wrote some verses commencing :

While Greenham writeth on the Sabbath rest,
His soule enjoyes not what his pen exprest.

Greenham died of the plague, and Fuller gives him a kindly *requiescat* : ¹

Godly Greenham is fallen asleep, we
Softly draw the curtains about him.

S.
Nicholas
in the
Shambles

When the old Grey Friars Church became the parish church and was called Christ Church, it absorbed two small parishes which were adjacent—viz. that of S. Nicholas in the Shambles (*ad Macellum*) and S. Ewin (or Ewine), the churches being pulled down by direction of Henry VIII. The Church of S. Nicholas was founded before 1291. It is on record that Walter de Harewell, priest, served the church from 1322 to 1324. It was under the Dean of S. Martin-le-Grand till 1517, and the Abbot of Westminster till 1535. The Church of S. Ewin was near by, at the corner of Elderness Lane. The church receives but scant notice from any early writer. The dedication is not common. S. Ewin, Ewen, Owen or Ouen (Lat. *Audoenus*), is better known in France than in England, sc. S. Ouen at Rouen. His emblem is : ‘His Coffin in a boat ; a Cross appearing in the air.’ The name appears in the ‘*Valor Ecclesiasticus*,’ 26 Henry VIII, as *Audoenus al’s Saynt Twyn*, a curious mistake in spelling, Wyn or Owyn being meant. The value was stated at £11, 9s. 5d.

S. Ewin

S.
Sepulchre

The ancient Church of S. Sepulchre was, like the Temple Church and the Priory Church of the Knights Hospitallers, founded in commemoration of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and was the church of an order of knights of the rule of S. Augustine founded about the year 1100, and united with the

¹ 1655. Fuller's *Church History*, ix. 220.

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knights of Rhodes in 1485. The name was sometimes ignorantly corrupted into 'Saint Pulchers,' as if the name were that of a saint; and Ben Jonson has perpetuated the vulgar error:

Such an infernal stink and steam behind,
You cannot see St. Pulchre's yet.¹

In the time of Henry I (confirmed by Henry III) the patronage was in the hands of the prior of S. Bartholomew and remained so until the suppression, when it fell to the Crown.

As to the earlier history of the church we gather from Stow that it was 'newly reedified or builded about the raigne of Henry the Sixt.' Stow also tells us that 'Sixe belles in a tune' from the Church of S. Bartholomew were sold to the parish of S. Sepulchre's.²

In Edward VI's time there was a petition to Parliament complaining of burial fees in this church:

But when the corps was buried . . . yet must we nedes paye VIId more that is to say id to the curate, which he called an heade peny and vjd to ij clarkes that we had no nede of.³

There was a suicide from the tower mentioned in the 'Sydney State Papers':

Dorrington, rich [Dorrington, yeasterday morning went up to S. Sepulchre's] Steeple and threw himself over the battlement and broke his neck.⁴

Samuel Pepys has an entry on August 10, 1662, as to the new service book which the clergyman here refused to read, shewing the divided state of opinion on the restoration of the church services.

¹ *a.* 1637. 'The Devil is an Ass,' V. i.

² Stow, *Survey* (1603), pp. 381 and 387.

³ R. Crowley, *Petition*, c. 1551, 'Early English Text Society,' l. 665.

⁴ (1600), vol. ii. p. 187.

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My uncle Fenner told me the new service booke (which is now lately come forth) was laid upon their deske at St. Sepulchre's for Mr. George to read ; but he laid it aside and would not meddle with it.¹

Ben Jonson in one of his epigrams writes of the bells :

Of loud Sepulchres with their hourelly knells.²

But the great bell had a melancholy function at certain times. Sir Richard Baker in his 'Chronicle' writes :

Master Robert Dowes (or Dow) of London, Merchant Taylor, gave a competant maintenance for ever, unto Sepulchre's Parish for the tolling of the great Bell, and for finding some Divine to come to the Prison of Newgate the mid-night before Execution and there to ring a hand bell, and put the prisoners in mind of their approaching death.³

The amount left for this purpose was 26s. 8d. yearly. This was the

Admonition to the condemned criminals as they are passing by St. Sepulchre's Church-wall to execution.

All good people pray heartily unto God for these poor sinners, who are now going to their death, for whom this great bell doth toll. You that are condemned to die repent with lamentable tears etc.

Lord have mercy upon you.⁴

Amongst many other monuments was that of a scholar whose fame still lives—Roger Ascham, tutor to Queen Elizabeth, was buried here, January 4, 1569. Dean Nowell preached the funeral sermon.

The church was almost, though not entirely, destroyed in the Great Fire. A writer says, 'Very much damnified ; only the outward walls and Tower being left standing.'⁵

¹ *Diary*, Aug. 10, 1662.

² 1616. Epig. cxxxiii.

³ 1643. James I, p. 152.

⁴ See Pennant's *London*.

⁵ Cox, *Magna Britannia*.

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Christopher Wren the younger in his *Parentalia* says, '“ Almost destroyed,” except part of the wall and steeple.'

In the interior of the porch the fan tracery of the roof still remains, and parts, at all events, of the tower appear to belong to the original structure. Ford, who wrote his description in verse the year after the Fire, thus alludes to it :

A lofty pile (now humbled) next appears,
Once christ'ned 'twas Saint Sepulchers,
Which, since it felt the all-interring flame,
The Saint lost kept its empty name.
They tell us here of one unmelted Bell,
That toll'd condemned Felons knell,
This Rumour heard, hang still, said she, to do
That work for London Fauxes too.¹

The church is included in the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas, 1291 ; the first rector mentioned in the register was Mic. de Wilmondele, who died in 1329. Thomas Gouge, rector in 1638, was deprived for nonconformity.

(iii)

Three churches close to S. Paul's Cathedral may be grouped together—S. Augustine, S. Gregory, and S. Martin. S. Augustine-by-Paul's stood at the corner of Old Change, close to the gate leading into the precincts known as S. Austin's Gate, and therefore was sometimes called S. Augustine *ad portam*. Of this arched gateway Stow writes that it ' was builded by Nicholas Faringdon about the yere 1361 ' ; but he has no information as to the church beyond his favourite phrase that it was ' a fayre Church,' and had been recently repaired, and contained some monuments to a Lord Mayor and two sheriffs, etc. It might have been

S. August-
tine-by-
Paul's

¹ S. Ford, *Londini quod Reliquum* (1667), p. 5.

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assumed that the following, being a translation of a communication made by the Venetian ambassador, refers to this church, as there was no other at that time except the Austin Friars' church, which was used by the Dutch.

On the same day (Dec. 31, 1558) in the Church of S. Augustine, assigned to the Italian Nation, two individuals (whom I will not call preachers for they were mechanics and cobblers) followed by a very great mob entered the church by force. Both of them leaped into the pulpit, and, book in hand, commenced reading and preaching to the people, uttering a thousand ribaldries concerning the reign of the blessed Queen Mary and of the Cardinal (Pole).¹

Newcourt gives the name of Robert Bursted as having been rector here in 1417. At the beginning of the Civil War Ephraim Udall was rector, and was sequestered.²

**S. Gregory-
by-Paul's**

S. Gregory-by-Paul's, as it was called, was built close to, and apparently touching, the Cathedral at the south-west end, and served occasionally for the Cathedral service when the great church was out of repair :

1561. The xxiiij of June was mydsomer evyn. The serves at Sant Gregore Chyrche be-syd Powlles by the Powlles quer tyll Powlles be rede made.³

The following, from Whitelocke's ' Memorials,' shews a revival of Catholic ceremony so much promoted by Archbishop Laud :

In Michaelmas Term (1633) was some discourse about the Communion Table in St. Gregorie's Church near Pauls ; which by order of the Dean of Pauls was removed and placed altarwise to the distaste of several of the Parishioners, who at length appealed and it came before the King and Council who approved what the Dean had done.⁴

¹ *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, 1558, p. 2. See Addenda, ' Austin Friars.'

² S. Augustine of Canterbury was the patron saint. The church is mentioned in the *Taxatio* of 1291.

³ Camden Soc., New Series XXVI. Intro., p. 39.

⁴ Whitelocke, *Memorials* (1672), p. 18.

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

The inconvenient and, indeed, improper position of the church being a disfigurement to the Cathedral, induced Archbishop Laud to order its removal, with the intention of re-erection. This act was one of the offences brought against him at his trial. But, as he said, the parishioners

were not left without a place for Divine Service ; for they were assigned to a part of Christ Church till another Church might be built for them. . . . I was not so much as one of the Referees.¹

It was here—*i.e.* in Christ Church, so we may suppose—that Evelyn attended in 1654, a time when most of the pulpits were occupied by Puritans, and heard Jeremy Taylor preach.²

This is the only church in London dedicated to Gregory the Great, who was the first Pope, so it is said, who ordained that the Popes should be styled '*Servi servorum Dei*.' He may have been popular because he sent us Augustine, who became the first Archbishop of Canterbury. It is said that the body of S. Edmund, King of East Anglia, was brought to London *c.* 870, and rested here for three years. There was a rector here in Richard II's time,³ but in Henry VI's reign the church was appropriated to the College of the 12 Petty Canons. It was not rebuilt after the Fire, but the parish was annexed to the Church of S. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street.

S. Martin's, Ludgate, close to the gate leading to the precincts of the Cathedral, suffered severely in 1561 by the same storm which finally wrecked the spire of S. Paul's : S. Martin,
Ludgate

Betweene one and two of the clocke at afternoone, was seene a marueilous great fyrie lightning . . . at which instante the corner of a

¹ *History of the Troubles* (1643).

² *Diary*, April 15, 1654.

³ According to Hennessy, in the time of Edward III, and he gives the name of Laurence the priest as having served the church in 1181.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

turret of y^e steeple of Saint Martin's Church within Ludgate was torne and diuers great stones casten down.¹

Samuel Purchas was rector here in 1614-26. He published his 'Purchas his Pilgrimes' in 1625. The following lines on the needlessness of eulogy may be found in the present church :

No Epitaph need make
The just man fam'd,
The good are prais'd,
When they are only nam'd.

There were, according to ancient records, two earlier churches, the one traditionally ascribed to Cadwallo, King of Britain, who died in 677, and was there buried. According to Robert of Gloucester :

A Church of Sent Martyn livyng he let rere
In whyche yat men shold goddys seruyse do
And sing for his soule and al Christene also!

As to the mediæval church the erection of the steeple is alluded to as being *c.* 1437. The church without the steeple must have been built earlier, as William Sevenoke, who was Lord Mayor in 1419, was buried there, and there certainly was a church in the previous century, for the name of Rob. de Sancto Albano is recorded as the first rector in 1322, and the church is included in the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291. Thomas Lupset, well known as a scholar and mentioned by Sir Thomas More, was rector in 1526. Michael German was rector at the time of the Rebellion, and suffered much for his loyalty. Thomas Jacomb who took his place was a Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, signed the Covenant, but was ejected from the living in 1662.

¹ *Report of burning of Steeple of Poules (1561).*

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

The parsonage was within, and formed part of the church. Exclusive of the value of the house, the stipend was £140 per annum. There was no churchyard, but some privileges were accorded as to burying at S. Paul's. The church was burnt in the Fire, but rebuilt a few feet to the north, thus giving increased width to the street.

The ancient Church of the Dominican Friars and the Church of S. Anne within the precincts of the Black Friars' Priory must not be confounded.

Two references to the old church from the 'Paston Letters' may be quoted. The first from the will of William Paston, dated 7 Sept. 1496 :

I will that my body be buried in the Church of Blak Freres, in London, at the north ende of the high altar, there by my Lady Anne late my wife.¹

**The Priory
Church
of the
Blackfriars**

The second from the will of Dame Agnes Paston, May 31, 1510 :

To be buried if she die in London, in the Church of the Blackfriars, by her husband John Harvy.²

There was an anchorite's cell in this church, at one time occupied by a woman. She made her profession in 1521 in this form :

I sister Margerie Clynte offereth and giveth myselfe to the mercie of Godd in the order of an Anresse to lyue in his seruice after the rule of an anresse, etc.³

This old church must have been in existence before 1276, for Stow says that in that year Robert Kilwarby, Archbishop

¹ Vol. iii. p. 467.

² *Ibid.* 471.

³ Quoted in *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, by B. M. Clay, p. 96.

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of Canterbury, ' builded the late new Church of the Black-friers. This was a large Church and richly furnished with ornaments : wherein diverse parliaments and other great meetings hath been holden.' Stow mentions a parliament in the reign of Henry VI, and indicates that it was also here that the Cardinals Wolsey and Campeius met to discuss the question of Henry VIII's marriage with Katherine. Possibly also at a later date the same church witnessed the condemnation of Cardinal Wolsey himself.¹

**S. Anne,
Blackfriars**

Of S. Anne's, Blackfriars, John Selden wrote in his ' Table Talk ' :

Lecturers do in a Parish Church what the Fryers did heretofore, get away not only the affections, but the bounty, that should be bestow'd upon the minister. . . . The Lectures in Blackfriars, perform'd by Officers of the Army, Tradesmen and Ministers.²

Nat. Field, playwright and actor, was buried here in 1633, and Shakespeare and Ben Jonson both had houses near by. The church has long since disappeared, but a small portion of the churchyard may still be seen, and a passage called ' Church Entry ' is indicative of the situation.

As already mentioned this parish church within the precincts was distinct from the friars' church ; both were pulled down at the same time, and we find that in Queen Mary's reign the inhabitants of the district were provided with a temporary building, till in course of time money was found to rebuild the church and, in 1613, to add to it. It was burnt down in the Great Fire, and the parish annexed to that of S. Andrew-in-the-Wardrobe.

Amongst those buried in the ancient church, Stow mentions

¹ *Survey* (1603), p. 342. Newcourt says that the Parliament which condemned Wolsey sat in the church in October of the same year, 1529 (*Repertorium*, i. 281).

² (1654) Arber's Reprint, p. 67.

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Margaret, Queen of Scots, and Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent. But in another place he speaks of this Margaret as sister to the King of Scots.¹

Between Blackfriars and the Temple two churches are to be noticed, the one on the south, the other on the north side of Fleet Street. S. Bride's (the name of the saint being a shortened form of Bridget) derived some fame from the holy well attached to the church, which gave a name to the Palace of Bridewell adjacent. Some remains of the pump connected with this well may still be seen by the side of the church wall. S. Bridget's fame is greater in Ireland than in England, and one of her reputed miracles was to turn the water of a well into beer. It is uncertain whether the saint, who died A.D. 540, was Scotch or Irish. *Dunum* (now Down) is said to contain her tomb, which was shared by two saints of greater fame, S. Patrick and S. Columba.

There is an early reference to the church in the 'Paston Letters':

It is told me that the man at Sent Bridis is no klenly portrayer. . . . I wold fayn it myth be portrayed by sum odir man and be to grave it up.

The writer is John Paston, who is referring to the employment of a sculptor or stonemason for his brother's monument (1479).² Sir Richard Baker, who was imprisoned in the Fleet for debt, died there in 1645, and was buried at S. Bride's. He concluded his well-known 'Chronicle' abruptly with the first page of the life of King Charles I.

Yet our hope is it (the War) will be but a fit and the storm once passed faire weather againe and fairer perhaps than it was before and then with joy we shall resume our stile.

¹ *Survey* (1603), p. 442.

² Letter No. 851.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

A blighted hope. Another hand completed the work after the Restoration.

One of Dryden's characters suggests the church as a meeting-place :

When you come to S. Bride's Church (if ever you come to Church, Gentlemen) you shall see me in the Pew that's next the Pulpit.¹

and one of Shadwell's shews us that a connexion between Alsatia and church-going was not an impossibility :

I have been at Evening Prayers at St. Bride's and am going home through the Temple.²

The church was totally destroyed in the Great Fire, but a monument erected nine years before the Fire is still left in the churchyard, inscribed : ' The doorway into Mr. Holden's vault erected April Anno 1657.' From an old map it would appear that the church had a supplementary churchyard situate by the Fleet Ditch between Fleet Bridge and Holborn Bridge. This was given by the Earl of Dorset in 1610.

The ancient church was a small one, and is alluded to as S. Brigida in the ' Taxatio ' of Pope Nicholas IV, 1291. It was enlarged about 1480 by William Viner, warden of the Fleet. In the seventeenth century only the choir remained, which we are told was enriched with much carving of vine leaves and grapes. The church was formerly a rectory ; afterwards a vicarage. Thomas de Holborn was the first rector in 1351. William Mott was first vicar in 1529.

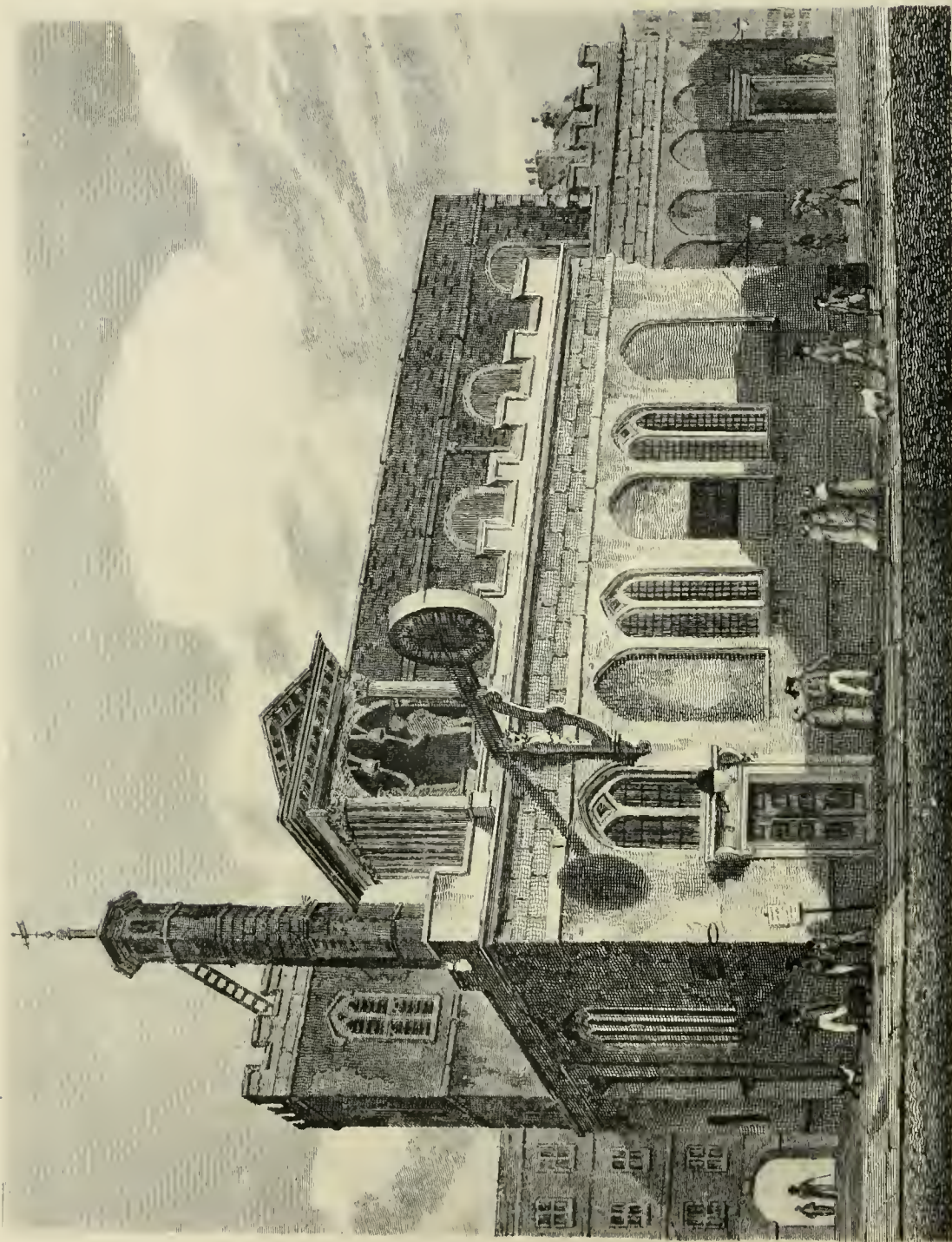
Contemporary writers give no description of the old church, but Visscher's Map (1616) shews that it had a tower with four pinnacles.

**S. Dun-
stan-in-
the-West**

The old Church of S. Dunstan-in-the-West stood on the north side of Fleet Street, and dated from the thirteenth century.

¹ *The Wild Gallant* (1669), V, i.

² *Squire of Alsatia* (1688), iii. 1.



ST. DUNSTAN'S-IN-THE-WEST

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

A chapel of S. Katherine was added about 1421, the gift of T. Duke, who was there buried. The church, although it survived the Fire, has since disappeared, and has been replaced by the present church, which, however, contains an interesting relic of the past, viz. the statue of Queen Elizabeth, removed from old Lud Gate. When the King of Denmark was entertained by James I in 1606, it was at this point that the procession was greeted 'with a noise of cornets which shewed their cunning to be excellent.'¹ By his will (1618) John Davies of Hereford, the poet, desired to be buried here—

as neere as convenientlie may be to the place where Mary my late wel-beloved wife lyeth.

According to Walton, Dr. Donne was vicar here at one time. Pepys has an entry in his Diary, August 17, 1662 :

This being the last Sunday that the Presbyterians are to preach, unless they read the new Common Prayer and renounce the Covenant, I had a mind to hear Dr. Bates' farewell Sermon and walked to S. Dunstan . . . A very good sermon and very little reflections in it to anything of the times . . . I hear most of the Presbyters took their leave to-day and that the City is much dissatisfied with it.

Dr. Bates, the vicar, would not renounce the Covenant or read the Prayer Book and was ejected from the living.

The church was given to Henry III by Richard de Barking, Abbot of Westminster, upon his founding a house for converted Jews² near by in Chancery Lane (see p. 239), and providing for the sustenance of such Jews as should be converted to the Christian faith, and for a chaplain and clerks. Such provision appeared afterwards to be commuted into an annual payment of £4. The right of advowson was with the Crown till 1361 ;

¹ *Harl. Miscell.*, ix. 439.

² This shews that the church was built before 1232.

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then with the Abbot of Alnwick, Northumberland, solely, so it would appear, because the abbey was in need of money. In return for the income of the church the abbey supplied a '*locum tenens* in the form of a Canon or secular priest, so for some 70 years there was no Rector or Vicar of the Church.' In time the abbey was suppressed, and shortly after we find the patronage of S. Dunstan's in the hands of the Sackville family, and the records shew John de Brampton rector in 1361. In 1636 the income of the living was stated to be £448, which included £50, the value of the house, a much larger income than most City churches possessed. The total included £100 under the head of 'Casualties.'¹ A well-known tavern on the opposite side of the street took its name from the church, being called 'S. Dunstan and the Devil,' with allusion to the old tradition of the saint having held the Devil captive with a pair of red-hot pincers applied to his nose. As shortened to 'The Devil,' the tavern became famous as the home of the club founded by Ben Jonson.

Izaak Walton lived near by and was a sidesman in the church, but was buried in Winchester Cathedral.

An old plate shews the ancient church before its removal. A Gothic building of the fourteenth century, with a tower having one lofty pinnacle. The bells are seen with figures to strike the hours. Also the bracket clock, which has been preserved, and is now at S. Dunstan's House, Regent's Park.

The Wardmote Inquest Register dates from 1588. The following are specimen cases. It must be remembered that the disreputable district known as 'Alsatia' was in the parish. Persons guilty of nuisances were presented and punished. Such offences as casting dirty water, rubbish, or bottles out of

¹ See Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

the windows in the night were cases for presentment. One Burton's wife was presented 'for a common skold,' often warned yet not amended. Selling ale or tobacco unlicensed or at unlawful hours was punishable. In James I's time there were cases of presenting 'recusants,' *i.e.* persons who refused to attend service at the church.¹

The Chapel of the 'Rolls' stood on the east side of Chancery Lane, formerly known as New Street, and was originally the chapel attached to the *Domus Conversorum*, or House for Converted Jews, founded by Royal Charter in 1232. It would seem that the Jews were in bad odour in the reign of Edward I—many of them indeed were hanged for clipping coin. The King appointed the 'Friars-preachers' to preach to these Jews, one-half of the forfeited estates of whom was to go to the friars, and the other to the support of this house of converts. The effort was not successful, though Stow has a record of the conversion and baptism of one Jew in the reign of Richard II, and states that the King allowed him '2 pence a day for Life.' At the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, if not earlier, it was used for secular purposes and called 'the Chappell for the custodie of Rolles and Records of Chancerie.' But ten years after Stow wrote his 'Survey of London' we find its ecclesiastical use was not abrogated:

This morning about eight of the clock in the Chapel of the Rolls, Mr. William Cavendish, the Lord Cavendish his son, was married to the Master of the Rolls his daughter, a young gentlewoman of thirteen years of age or thereabouts.²

And in 1615 Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, was married to Mrs. Hungate, a niece of Sir Francis Bacon.

¹ See art. by W. G. Bell in *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 1914.

² Quoted in *Life of Arabella Stuart* by Lefuse.

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It was many years after this that Bishop Burnet wrote in his 'History of His Own Time':

I applied myself to my studies and my function, being the settled Preacher at the Rolls and soon after Lecturer at St. Clement's.

The old chapel was pulled down when the new Public Record Office was built, and the Museum occupies its site, but traces of the old building, including the remains of a Gothic arch, may still be seen.¹

**S.
Thomas
in the
Rolls**

A church known as S. Thomas in the Liberty of the Rolls was built in the vicinity for parochial use. This was removed in the last century and a school built on the site in Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane. A small portion of the churchyard has been preserved, and may be seen fronting the street on the north side. The inscription on one tombstone, dated 1631, is unusually clear for the period:

Here sleep our babes in silence,
Heaven's their rest
For God takes soonest those He
loveth best.

An unwitting adaptation of the classic, 'Whom the gods love die young.'

(iv)

**The Temple
Church**

The Old Temple, the first abode of the Knights of S. John of Jerusalem, was founded about the year 1118, and stood in Holborn, with a second entrance in New Street (afterwards Chancery Lane). It was circular in shape, like other churches built by the Knights Templars, in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre

¹ For further information on the history of the chapel see a paper by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, Deputy Keeper, 1896. The author says that Pennant is mistaken in thinking that Inigo Jones rebuilt the chapel.

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at Jerusalem, which it was their vocation to defend. Part of the buildings must have remained after the Templars had removed to their new buildings at Temple Bar, as the place was alluded to as the 'Old Temple.' Southampton House many years after occupied the site, and the present Southampton Buildings indicate approximately the position.¹ 'The Temple' as we know it now in Fleet Street was for some time called the 'New Temple.' The Round Church was consecrated in 1185 by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem. The rectangular choir was built at a rather later period. The whole is in good preservation, and is too well known to need description. It is a beautiful specimen of Norman transition and early pointed work. The richly sculptured Norman arch of the entrance is sometimes called 'Saracenic.' The church, however, received but little notice in literature which indicated any feeling for its great artistic beauty. References mostly bear on the effigies of the Knights Templars in the Round Church, which forms the entrance to the larger building. Stow, who in his list of churches² calls this 'St. Parnell in the Temple'³ for the use of Students there,' in another passage has :

There remaineth monuments of noblemen buried to the number of 11 ; eight of them are images of armed knights, five lying crosse-legged as

¹ Sir Geo. Buck, *Third Universitie*, 1615, C 12. Eighty years after this was written, in excavating for new buildings, some of the remains of the old Round Church were discovered. The material was Caen stone.

² *Survey* (1603), p. 496.

³ In the *Paston Letters* 'Sen Pernelle' is mentioned, the name being, according to an editorial note by Dr. Gairdner, an abbreviation of Petronilla. This is a feminine diminutive of Peter, and the saint is said to have been a daughter of the Apostle. Alban Butler says, 'This holy virgin shone as a bright star in the Church. She lived when Christians were more solicitous to live well than to write much.' Neither Newcourt nor Hennessy mention Parnell or Petronilla, and the church is said to be dedicated to S. Mary the Virgin, as a tablet, now or formerly, in the church records '*in honorem Beatæ Mariæ*.' The only mention of S. Petronilla in *Church Dedications*, by F. Arnold-Forster, relates to a church in Suffolk. *S. Parnell in the Temple* has no mention in this work nor in that of Mr. Francis Bond on the same subject. Nor does Mr. Kingsford touch on it in his edition of Stow.

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men vowed to the holy land. . . . The first was W. Marshal, the elder Earle of Pembroke who dyed 1219. . . . Wil. Marshal his sonne Earle of Pembroke was the second.¹

It was this elder Earl of Pembroke who was Regent during the minority of Henry III, and it was he who in Shakespeare's 'King John' pleaded for the release of Prince Arthur at a time when the King believed that his instructions to have his nephew murdered had been carried out :

I . . . heartily request
Th' enfranchisement of Arthur, whose restraint
Doth move the murmuring lips of discontent
.
Why then your fears . . .
. . . should move you to mew up
Your tender kinsman, and to choak his dayes
With barbarous ignorance and deny his youth
The rich advantage of good exercise.²

But it was to another Earl of Pembroke that Edward II gave the Temple, viz. to Aymer de Valence in the year 1313, but he was not buried in the famous Round Church, but at Westminster Abbey.³

Seventeenth-century writers found these monuments useful as a simile, *e.g.* Sir Thomas Overbury has :

The marble images in the Temple Church that lye crosse-legg'd, doe much resemble him saving that this is a little more crosse.⁴

¹ Stow's *Survey* (1603), p. 404. But according to a note in Kingsford's edition of Stow, effigies of known Crusaders are found with legs uncrossed, and there are cross-legged effigies of knights who were not Crusaders.

² Act V, sc. ii. in 1623 ed.

³ As this book is only dealing with the churches of London the history of the Temple, when it became the property of the two great legal societies, cannot be dwelt on. Both of these had the use of the church.

⁴ *Character of a Waterman*, a. 1613.

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And Richard Brome in a play :

I will rather die here in Ram Alley or walk down to the Temple and lay myself down alive in the old Synagogue, cross-legged among the monumentall knights there, till I turne marble with 'em.¹

The Temple as the home of the lawyers was governed by a Master, who preached in the church to the students. The first Master was Richard Alvey, 1559-60. Richard Hooker,

notwithstanding his averseness, was . . . by patent for life made Master the 17th March 1585.²

Fuller thus describes his preaching :

His voice was low, stature little, gesture none at all, standing stone still in the pulpit, as if the posture of his body were the emblem of his mind, immoveable in his opinions.

Hooker preached in the morning, and Mr. Travers, the afternoon preacher, used to controvert all he had said. This caused Fuller to allude to the Temple of Solomon, at the building of which we are told ' nor axe nor tool of iron was heard ' :

Whereas, alas, in the Temple not only much knocking was heard, but (which was the worst) the nailes and pins which one Master Builder drave in were driven out by the other.³

Amongst many men of note buried in the church in the seventeenth century are James Howell, the author of the well-known ' Familiar Letters ' and Historiographer to King Charles II, who by his own wish was buried here on the north side of the church ; also

That famous and learned antiquary, Mr. John Selden, whose works

¹ *Mad Couple well Matched* (1653), I, i.

² Izaak Walton, *Life of Hooker*.

³ *Church History* (1655), Bk. IX, p. 216.

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are a monument far more worthy his memory than that in the Inner Temple Church,¹

of whom Ben Jonson wrote (referring to his book 'Titles of Honour,' published in 1614) :

Monarch in letters ! 'mong thy titles shown
Of others' honours, thus enjoy thy own.

Among other famous lawyers buried here are Edmund Plowden, 1584 ; Sir John Vaughan, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1674 ; Sir W. Morton, Judge of the King's Bench, 1672.

During the Civil War a Master was appointed by the House of Commons. An entry in the Journals shews that John Tombes was appointed, August 19, 1644.

Visitors to the church may still see the Penitential Cell formed in the thickness of the wall. The ancient Chapel of S. Ann was on the south side of the ' Round,' and opened upon the cloisters. Both have disappeared.

The following quotation from the records shews some of the customs and regulations :

A standing box bound with iron for contributions to the poor, prisoners and others to be set in the Church.

A Butler of every House shall keep the Choir door, that no woman come into the Choir and they are to endeavour to keep out strangers except Noblemen and Knights.²

The organ has always been famous. In 1685 there was a competition for its erection, and two organs, one by Bernard Smith and the other by Harris, were put up in the church for comparison and selection. Finally, at a parliament (the term used for a Council of the Benchers) :

The Masters of the Bench declare unanimously that the organ made

¹ *Baker's Chronicle*, continued by Phillip, p. 680.

² *Calendar of Middle Temple Records*, Parliament, July 2, 1582.

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by Bernard Smith for sweetness and fulness of sound, besides the extraordinary stops, quarter notes and other rareties therein, is beyond comparison preferable to the organ made by Harris.¹

So Bernard Smith erected his organ at the agreed cost of £1000, but an additional sum was asked for. Later we find some information as to the organist :

Mr. Francis Pigott is appointed Organist for the Church, with a Salary of £50 yearly. . . . He shall find a blower at his own cost. Mr. Bernard Smith the maker of the Organ shall be retained to keep it in repair and tune at 20*l.* a year.²

The church known as S. Clement Danes, occupying a prominent position in the Strand, was originally built before the Conquest. It was

S. Clement
Danes

so called because Harold (surnamed Harefoot) King of England of the Danish line and other Danes, were here buried. This Harold was the base son of King Canut. . . . His body was first buried at Westminster, but afterwards Hardicanut, the lawfull sunne of Canut, being King, commanded his body to be digged out of the earth and to be throwne into the Thames, where it was by a Fisherman taken up and buried in the Churchyard.³

Stow quotes the Chertsey Record, 'a fayre leager Booke, sometime belonging to the Abbey of Chartsey,' which tells us that the Danes

were by the just judgement of God all slayne at London in a place which is called the Church of the Danes.⁴

The church was in early days in possession of the Knights Templars. Afterwards the patronage was with the Bishop of

¹ *Calendar of Middle Temple Records*, Parliament, July 2, 1582, vol. iii. p. 1367.

² *Ibid.*, May 25, 1588.

³ Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 444.

⁴ *Survey* (1603), p. 450.

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Exeter and in other hands till Queen Elizabeth bestowed it on Lord Burleigh. The first chaplain on record was John Mugge, 1325. At the time of the Essex rebellion a gun was placed on the top of the tower commanding Essex House. The church was rebuilt in 1640 in the classical style, which then prevailed. John Arundel, Bishop of Exeter in 1503, was buried in the old church. In the next century Dr. Donne's wife was buried in this church, and Izaak Walton tells us that

his first motion from his house was to preach where his beloved wife lay buried.¹

There was a holy well near to the church, and Holywell Street was until a few years ago still in evidence, but the well, according to Stow, was only 'holy' in name, and 'much decayed and marred with filthinesse,' while the fountain known as S. Clement's Well on the north side of the church 'is curbed about square with hard stone, kept cleane for common use and is alwayes full.' There were at one time almshouses in the churchyard, for William Lilly in his autobiography alludes to 'twelve poor Alms-people living in Clement Danes Churchyard.'² We may gather that the parish was infected with the Plague in James I's time. In a play of Middleton, a pawnbroker refuses to deal with a man living there :

Of what Parish is your Pawn? . . . S. Clement's, Sir. Away with your Pawn, Sir, your Parish is infected.³

Apparently at this time the church stood in a somewhat isolated position, for Speed tells us that Catesby and the other Gunpowder Plot conspirators

appointed to meet some three days after behind St. Clement's Church without Temple Barre.⁴

¹ *Life of Dr. Donne* (1640).

³ *Your Five Gallants* (1608), I, i.

² 1715, p. 17.

⁴ *History* (1632), p. 1231.

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

The Church of S. Andrew Holborn fronted Holborn Hill and was approached by steps from the street. It now stands below the Viaduct. The church was founded not later than the thirteenth century.¹ The first rector recorded was Richard de Tadelowe, who died in 1322. In early days the patronage was with the Abbot and Convent of Bermondsey, subject, however, to certain control of the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's. After the suppression of the abbey it was granted by Henry VIII to Thomas Lord Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, but who, falling out with the policy of Edward VI, was disgraced. He was buried in S. Andrew's Church near the high altar. His place, Southampton House, was near by, and the name survives in Holborn, as also does the name of John Thavies, a benefactor of the church, who founded Thavies Inn. The old church was in a ruinous condition at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and was removed. The tower remained,² but being re-cased does not outwardly present its original appearance; but on entering the church on the west, through the lower part of the tower, we find ourselves under the fine lofty Gothic arches of the old church. The lower part of the tower has pointed windows, and one of them retains the Gothic tracery of the Perpendicular period. Christopher Wren the younger, however, in his 'Parentalia,' says that his father rebuilt the whole of the church. Richard Bancroft and John King were rectors in 1584 and 1597 respectively. They both became Bishop of London. During the interregnum the parson got into trouble. We read in the 'Diurnall,' 1643 :

S. Andrew
Holborn

A committee of the House of Commons for scandalous ministers sate this afternoon in debate . . . against Doctor Hacket Parson of Saint Andrews for divers misdemeanours alleadged against him in his superstitious Teachings.³

¹ It is called S. Andree in Holbourne in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV, 1291.

² *Repetorium*, i. 273.

³ *A Perfect Diurnall*, Sept. 11, 1643.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

He appears to have been deprived, but lived to be Bishop of Lichfield after the Restoration.¹ Bishop Stillingfleet was, according to Pepys, at one time rector here: 'The famous young Stillingfleet, whom I knew at Cambridge,' so he wrote, after hearing him preach at Whitehall (April 23, 1665).

John Webster the poet was said to have been parish clerk of this church (though latterly doubts have been thrown on the story), and Charles Lamb observed that 'the anxious recurrence to Church matters, sacrilege, tombstones, with the frequent introduction of dirges in his tragedies may be traced to his professional sympathies.' In his 'Devil's Law Case' he has this passage:

How then can any monument say
Here rest these bones to the last day
When Time, swift both of foot and feather,
May bear them the Sexton knows not whither?
What care I then, tho' my last sleep
Be in the desert or in the deep;
No lamp, nor taper, day and night,
To give my charnel chargeable light?
I have there like quantity of Ground
And at the last day I shall be found.²

There was attached to the church a free school.

One of the finest of the bishops' palaces was that of the Bishop of Ely in Holborn. The present little street, Ely Place, marks the spot. Nothing remains but the beautiful chapel attached to the palace, fortunately still in good preservation.

S. Ethel-
dreda

It is dedicated to S. Etheldreda, that saint having been the foundress of the monastery at Ely. She died in 679, and the

¹ He seems to have held his living of Cheam in Surrey with that of S. Andrew's. 'Holborn for wealth, Cheam for health,' is what he was told.

² Webster, *The Devil's Law Case*, 1623.

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

cathedral was erected over her tomb. There was not a finer, if so fine, a private chapel in London. The building is late thirteenth century Gothic. A crypt or under-croft forms a separate chapel below, and was at one time used for burials, the principal chapel being superposed. Here we see windows which are specimens of the best period of Gothic art, and the geometric tracery of the large east window is especially beautiful. The walls are strong enough to sustain the weight of the heavily timbered roof without buttresses. The thickness is noticeable in the embrasures of the windows, especially of the small windows, which give a dim light to the under-croft. Pennant writes of cloisters in his time, and there is still a small cloister by which the church is entered. Stow has no mention whatever of this church.

James Howell, in one of his letters written some fifty years after the incident related, has an allusion to this chapel which evidently, in James I's time, was in the hands of the Roman Catholics.

It must needs be a commendable thing that they [Roman Catholics] keep their Churches so cleanly and amiable, for the dwellings of the Lord of Hosts should be so ; to which end your greatest ladies will rise before day sometimes in their night clothes, to fall a-sweeping some part of the Church and decking it with flowers, as I heard Count Gondemar's wife used to do here at Ely House Chapel.¹

The name *Etheldreda* was shortened into Audrey, and became a favourite Christian name. Saint Audrey Fair was held annually at Ely, and Audrey laces and necklaces were favourite

¹ *Familiar Letters*, VIII, xxxvi. Count Gondemar was the Spanish ambassador, much favoured by the Court, but hated by the people. He was satirised by Middleton as the 'Black Knight' in the play 'A Game of Chess,' which got the author into trouble and imprisonment. The church became private property and, in our own days, was actually offered for sale by auction. It is now again the property of the Roman Catholic body.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

‘fairings.’ Hence came the word ‘tawdry,’ and Shakespeare has—

You promised me a Tawdry lace.¹

Apparently the chapel or church remained in Roman Catholic ownership, as it is to this day ; yet it was certainly used for an important Anglican service in the year 1668, for John Wilkins, formerly a Presbyterian, who had signed the Covenant, was consecrated there Bishop of Chester. He was at one time Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

There was, traditionally, an early church on this site dating from Saxon times, or even earlier. The granite bowl now used as a holy-water stoop, and, seemingly, too small for a font, is certainly many centuries older than the present church.

**S. Paul's,
Covent
Garden**

When, in the reign of Charles I, the north side of the Strand was built on, and the Convent Garden lent its name to a new district and afforded sites not quite in accordance with the pious uses of the old days, the church still known as S. Paul's, Covent Garden, was built. This was about 1634. Inigo Jones was the architect, as he was of the ‘piazza’ adjoining.² John Evelyn, whose sympathies were entirely with Italian architecture, writes in his Diary :

The Church at Leghorn gave the first hint to the building both of the Church and Piazza in Covent Garden with us, tho' very imperfectly pursu'd.³

But a French visitor to London, Monsieur Jorevin, wrote in 1672 :

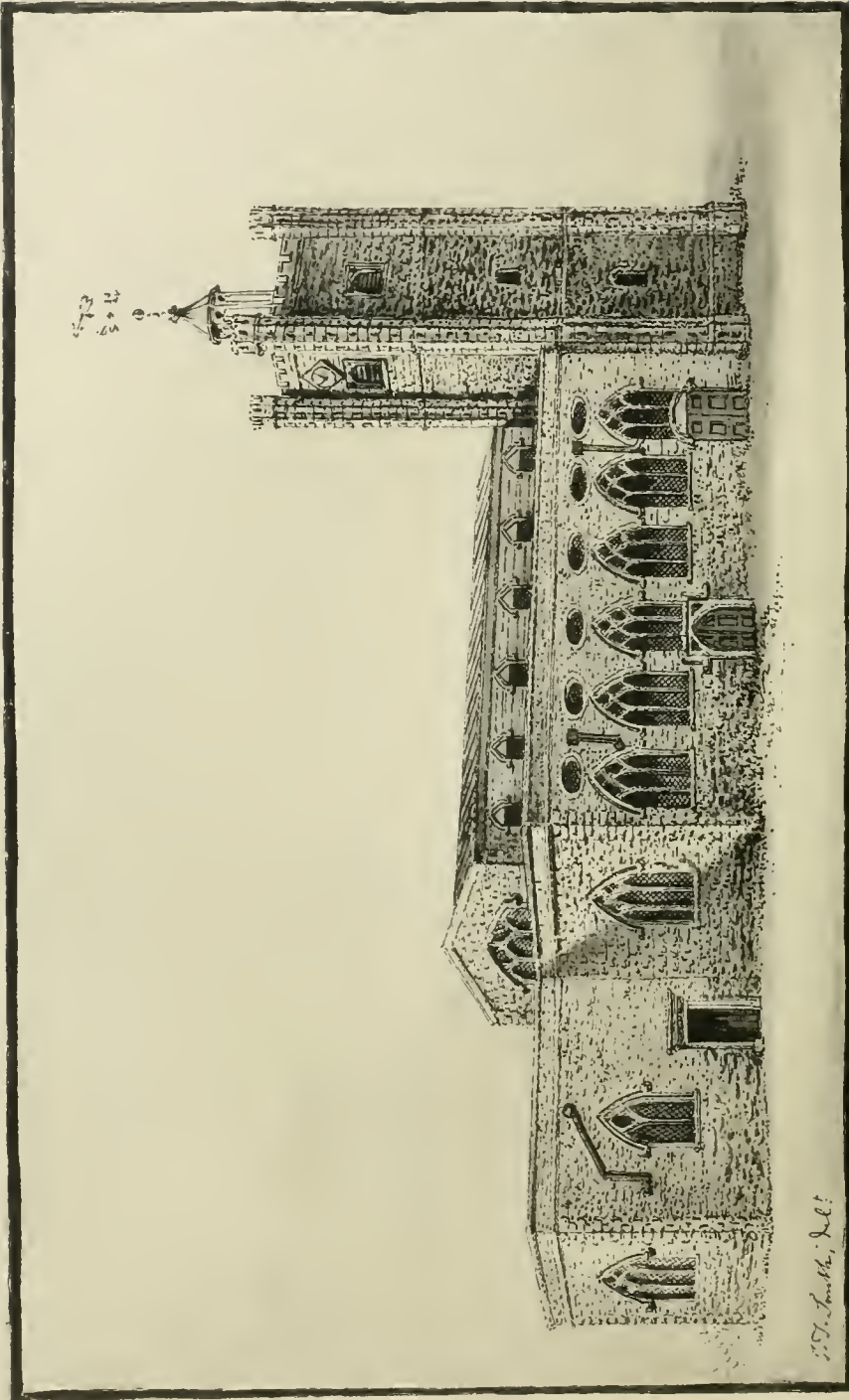
In the middle of this market is a Church, the frontispiece of which is sustained by many thick columns like the Pantheon at Rome.⁴

¹ *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii.

² Pennant.

³ *Diary*, 1644, Oct. 21.

⁴ *Antiquarian Repository*, iv. 567.



OLD CHURCH OF ST. GILES-IN-THE-FIELDS

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

The Church of S. Giles, so called 'in the Fields,' justified its title in early days and as late as Queen Elizabeth's time, for old maps shew it isolated from houses, there being nothing between it to the south except green fields, which stretched up to the Convent Garden.

S. Giles-
in-the-
Fields

New Oxford Street did not exist, and the church stood on the highway leading from Holborn to the Oxford Road. The place was originally a leper hospital, founded by Matilda, Queen of Henry I, in the year 1117. The first curate or priest in charge was a certain Walter in the year 1227, but no custodian of the hospital is on record till 1367. The first mention of a rector is in 1547, of whom it is recorded :

Sir Will^m Rowlandson is pson and his psonage is worth by yere £8 who sarveithe the Cure hymself.¹

The church was newly built in Charles I's time, for Archbishop Laud consecrated it, and has a note to that effect in his Diary.² The cost was, for the most part, the gift of the Lady Alice Duddely. In the churchyard there is a monument to Richard Pendrell,

Preserver and Conductor to his sacred Majesty King Charles the Second of Great Britain after his escape from Worcester fight 1651. Now to triumph in Heaven,

so runs the epitaph,

He is advanced for his just steerage here.³

In the church there is a memorial, with an eloquent epitaph, to Andrew Marvell, who certainly would not have assisted

¹ Quoted by Hennessy in *Novum Repertorium*. (Extract from College and Chantry Certificates.)

² Jan. 23, 1630-1.

³ For a further account see Blount's *Boscobel* (1660).

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

Charles to escape, but who, although a political enemy of his father, wrote the kindest words to his memory :

He nothing common did, or mean,
Upon that memorable scene,
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try ;
Nor called the gods with vulgar spite
To vindicate his helpless right,
But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed.¹

There is also an altar-shaped monument, much weather-worn and now placed within the church, to the honoured name of George Chapman the dramatist, and translator of Homer.

According to Stow, prisoners on their way to Tyburn 'were presented at the Hospital with a great Bowle of Ale, thereof to drinke at theyr pleasure, as to be theyr last refreshing in this life.'²

A story is told of a prisoner who refused to stay and drink the ale, that he arrived at Tyburn a few minutes earlier than he would have done, and was hanged just before the arrival of a messenger bearing his reprieve.

Nash gives an old saw current in his time :

A prouerbe it is as stale as sea-biefe, Save a theef from the gallows and hee'le be the first shall shew thee the way to Saint Gilesesse.³

In the Marriage Register for 1654 there is this entry :

William Temple Esq^r. and M^{rs} Dorothie Osborne had their intension of marriage entered the ninth of this month and were thrice published. They were married on Christmas Day.⁴

Roger Manwaring, chaplain to Charles I, and rector here, was censured in Parliament in 1627 for a sermon on Religion

¹ 'A Horatian Ode.'

² Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 444.

³ 1593. *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem*. Works (1910), ii. 180.

⁴ *Letters of Dorothy Osborne*.

The West Prospect of St. MARTIN'S Church in the Fields, Westminster.



The South Prospect of St. MARTIN'S Church in its Liberty in Westminster.



CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

and Allegiance, and fined £1000 or imprisonment, but made his submission. Bishop Burnet in the 'History of His Own Time' tells of a later rector, Dr. Sharp, 'a very pious man and one of the most popular preachers of the age, who preached a sermon in 1686 in which it was said he made reflections on James II and his change of religion.' The King ordered the Bishop of London to suspend him, but he refused, on the ground that he had no power without legal process.

A drawing made about one hundred years ago shews the old church before it was removed and the present church built. It shews the south front, and the tower and a chancel much lower than the nave. It is late Gothic in character.¹

If the Church of S. Martin-in-the-Fields, Charing Cross, was not exactly so much 'in the fields' as S. Giles's, it had certainly, when it was built in the reign of Henry VIII, abundance of open space to the north, and the Convent Garden on the east side. The following excerpt from the 'Calendar of Treasury Papers' ² shews the reason of its erection in a reign when the pulling down rather than the building up of sacred places prevailed :

S. Martin-
in-the-
Fields

In the time of King Henry the Eight the said inhabitants had no Parish Church but did resort to the Parish Church of S^t Margaret in West^r and thereby were forced to carry their dead bodies by the Court Gate of Whitehall ; which the said King Henry then misliking, caused the Church in the Parish of S^t Martins in the Fields to be erected and made a Parish there.³

This church was the proper place for the registration of the births of any royal children born at Whitehall, but Fuller in his 'Worthies' writes :

I am credibly informed that at the birth of every child of the King, born at Whitehall or Saint James's, full five pounds were faithfully paid

¹ By J. T. Smith, Keeper of the Prints at the British Museum.

² Vol. xxxii.

³ Recited in a patent granted by James I in his fourth year to the parishioners of S. Martin of one acre of ground to make a new churchyard.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

to some unfaithful receivers thereof to record the names of such children in the Register of Saint Martin's. But the money being embesiled (we know by some, God knows by whom) no mention is entered of them.¹

Evelyn in his Diary has an entry shewing that the right of sanctuary was still in force in the late seventeenth century :

Good Friday. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martin's. During the service a man came into near the middle of the Church, with his sword drawn, with several others in that posture ; in this jealous time it put the congregation into great confusion ; but it appeared to be one who fled for sanctuary being pursued by bailiffs.²

The churchwardens' accounts of this church have an entry shewing that plays were performed here in Henry VIII's reign.

It'm resceyued of the players that played in the Churche ij^s.³

These accounts are most elaborately inscribed in the volume provided, displaying much skill in penmanship, the separate annual sections having on the frontispiece pictorial designs—*e.g.* in one Queen Elizabeth is depicted seated in state, while a dragon⁴ may be seen approaching. There is evidence that the accounts were audited, as the auditor sometimes raised an objection. For instance the following item was not passed,

payed ffor our breakfastes wyth the mayster vycar and the sydemen at the vysytcon daye at Saynt Clementes xvjd.

Under the Commonwealth the church was selected as a place for public penance :

Sara Wharton to be whipt at a carts tail about the streets and to do penance at Saint Martin's Church.⁵

¹ 1662. Fuller's *Worthies*, Westminster, p. 240.

² *Diary*, Mar. 25, 1687.

³ *Churchwardens' Accounts*, 29 Hen. VIII.

⁴ Possibly meant for Spain. But from the Spaniards' point of view our Drake was the Dragon (*Draco*), and a constant terror to them.

⁵ *Aulicus Coquinaria*, p. 107.

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

Some old plates shew views of the church as it was in the seventeenth century before the present church was built. We see a church late Gothic in character, but the detail of the windows much altered by renovation. The roof of the nave has dormer windows. There is a tower surmounted by a bell turret. Over the west window is a sundial on the wall, and in a niche a figure of Death.

(v)

The Chapels Royal have frequent mention, sometimes in connexion with marriages or public functions, but very often in connexion with the choir and the singers. The singing-boys or 'Children of the Chapel' were in much prominence for the purpose of play-actors before women were allowed on the stage, and in most of the early productions in Shakespeare's time they took even the leading parts. For example, on the title-page of Ben Jonson's 'Poetaster' we read :

This comicall Satyre was first acted in the yeere 1600 By the then Children of Queene Elizabeth's Chappell.

One of the 'Children,' a boy of thirteen, named Salathiel Pavy, acted in the above play, and Ben Jonson called him 'The stages iewell,' and when he died wrote his epitaph, by which it seems that the boy

. . . did act (what now we mone)
Old men so duely,
As, sooth, the Parcae thought him one,
He plai'd so truely.

But being so much too good for earth,
Heauen vowes to keepe him.¹

Some years earlier Peele's 'Araygnment of Paris,' the performance of which in 1584 Queen Elizabeth honoured by her presence and was awarded the golden apple, was presented by

¹ *Epigrams* (1616), cxx.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

the 'Children of the Chappell.' The *dramatis personæ* were thirty-three in number, and included Jupiter and Venus and many other gods and goddesses besides mortals such as Helen. But in the second year of Charles I, when there was a growing prejudice against the stage altogether, we find public opinion revolted at the employment of children on the stage, and in the patent granted to Dr. Giles, 'Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal,' an effort was made to stop the practice, as already noted (see page 13).

Whitehall Chapel

York Place, the official residence of Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York, had doubtless a chapel. But when Henry VIII took possession and the place became 'Whitehall,' many additions were made both by Henry and in the following reigns, and a new chapel would appear to have been built. Stow has no mention of any chapel, but in the reigns of the two first Stuarts we often hear of it.¹

The old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, has records of names of eminent organists and composers whose works are still in the repertoire of our cathedrals. Amongst many others are :

1613. John Bull, doctor of Musicke, went beyond the seas without licence and was admitted into the Arch-duke's service.

1625. Mr. Orlando Gibbons, Organist, died.

1662. Mr. Henry Lawes, one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Chappell-Royal and Clerke of the Check, died.

1664. Mr. Henry Purcell died.²

Leland describes the marriage of Frederick Count Palatine with the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James I.

Sunday 14th of February 1613 (St. Valentine's Day) being appointed for this solemnity the Chappell of Whitehall was in Royall Sort adorned.

¹ It is clear that the banqueting-hall built by Inigo Jones was used for a long time as the chapel.

² *Miscell. Pieces* (1770), ii. 330.

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAUL'S

Archbishop Laud preached there on the day that King James died and notes in his Diary :

I ascended the pulpit much troubled, and in a very melancholy moment, the report then spreading that his Majesty King James, of most sacred memory to me, was dead. Being interrupted with the dolours of the Duke of Buckingham I broke off my sermon in the middle.¹

During the Civil War there was a long cessation of church music, and Pepys, who at the Restoration was a young man, notes in his Diary :

To Whitehall Chapel. . . . Here I heard very good musique, the first time that ever I remember to have heard the organs and singingmen in surplices in my life.²

The little church attached to the Savoy Palace was called 'S. Mary le Savoy,' being originally attached to the palace built by Peter Earl of Savoy in the thirteenth century. It was made a parish church when Somerset destroyed S. Mary le Strand. It is still a 'Chapel Royal.' Thomas Fuller had the Lectureship there, and his preaching is described by his biographer :

S. Mary le
Savoy

He had in his narrow Chappell two audiences, one without the pale, the other within the windows of that little Church and the Sextonry, as if Bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourse.³

In 1644 the Savoy had become a hospital for the wounded, but we find in the Calendar of State Papers an order dated November 15 :

All who are able are to attend the daily reading of God's Word and to go diligently every Lord's Day and Fasting Day to the service at the Savoy Church on pain of fines.⁴

¹ *Diary*, March 27, 1625.

² *Ibid.*, July 8, 1660.

³ 1661. Anon. *Life and Death of that Reverend Divine and Excellent Historian, Doctor Thomas Fuller*, p. 15.

⁴ *Domestic*, Charles I, p. 231.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

In earlier days it seemed a place for hasty weddings. In one of Dekker's plays it is said of an impatient couple,

They shall chop up the matter at the Savoy.¹

In the time of the interregnum Dr. Belcanquell, who was the Master, was sequestered by the Parliament. One accusation against him was that he was 'a mischievous enemy to the amity of Scotland and England.'

A quaintly worded brass in the church has a kindly word for a certain Humphrey Gosling, landlord of the 'White Hart,' who died in 1586. He was said to be 'a very good archer and of honest Mirth, a good Company keeper':

So well inclin'd
to poor and Rich
God send more Goslings
to be sich.

Somerset House Chapel

The chapel at Somerset House was specially rearranged for Queen Henrietta Maria, who had legal permission for the use of the priests of her own religion and, as we find in Baker's 'Chronicle':

The Papists also at this time (1637) suffered under a severe animadversion, it being observed that they made numerous resorts to private Conventicles at the houses of Forrein Ambassadors and especially to the old Chappell at Somerset House.²

S. Mary- le-Strand

Near the Savoy was the Church of S. Mary-le-Strand. The demolition of the ancient church was one of the iniquities of the Protector Somerset in Edward VI's reign. Stow says of it:

A Parrish Church called of the Natiuity of our Lady and the Innocents . . . pulled downe and made leuell ground in the year 1549. In place

¹ *Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599), IV, v. ² *Baker's Chron. Chas. I*, p. 502.

CHURCHES NORTH AND WEST OF S. PAULS

whereof he builded that large and goodly house now called Somerset House.¹

Sir John Hayward in his 'Life of Edward VI' says :

Many well disposed minds conceived a hard opinion of him for that a Church by Strand-Bridge and two Bishops' houses were pulled downe to make a seat for his new building.²

The old church apparently dated from the thirteenth century, for we hear of a brotherhood of S. Ursula in connexion with it some time before 1308, and Hennessy gives the name of Nicholas either as rector or priest in charge in 1238. The Bishop of Worcester, whose house was near by, was the patron, and his first presentation on record was to Richard *dictus* Brewer de Canterbury in 1335-6. After the destruction by Somerset in 1549 there was no church for many years, and apparently the parish was joined to S. Mary le Savoy.³ The new church was consecrated in 1723.

¹ *Survey* (1603), p. 447.

² (1636), p. 204.

³ But Hennessy gives the name of Thomas Chambers as acting in some capacity, but not by presentation of the patron, in 1573, and also tells us that the same Thomas Chambers was or had been rector of S. Mary Bothaw and Trinity-the-Less.

CHURCHES ON THE SOUTH
SIDE OF THE THAMES

TO WHICH ARE ADDED A FEW OF
THOSE IN THE NEAR OUTSKIRTS ON
BOTH SIDES OF THE RIVER

CHAPTER V

CHURCHES ON THE SOUTH SIDE AND IN THE OUTSKIRTS

(i)

THE ancient priory of S. Mary Overie was surrendered in 1540 after a life of some five centuries. If there be truth in the old legend of Overie meaning 'over the ferry,' there must have been some kind of religious house there before the first bridge was built. The tradition, which rests upon the authority of Bart. Linsted, the last prior, is that a certain ferryman having acquired wealth from the profits of his office, left it to his daughter, Mary Audery,¹ who founded a house for Sisters and endowed it. It was afterwards a college of priests, and in the year 1106 refounded as a priory by two Norman knights, William Pont de l'Arche and William Dauncy.² At the time of the surrender the revenue was stated by Dugdale to be £654, 6s. 6d., and Prior Linsted received a pension of £100 a year on his retirement. The conventual church was built by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester in the reign of Henry I. This Norman church was either destroyed by fire in 1207 or pulled down at a later period, as it was rebuilt in the second year of Henry IV (1401). On the suppression of the priory the inhabitants of Southwark purchased the church from the King and it became a parish church and was renamed S. Saviour's, and has in late years become a cathedral. Still the old name has not died out.

S. Mary
Overie

¹ There was a misconception that the church was called S. Mary Audery, from the foundress.

² See Addenda.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

The church has had many vicissitudes and suffered from much restoration during its long career. The only really ancient portion remaining is the beautiful Early-English Lady Chapel, which had a certain resemblance to the Church of S. Faith-under-Paul's—Early-English ribbed vaulting supported by clustered columns. As Anthony Munday wrote of it in 1633 :

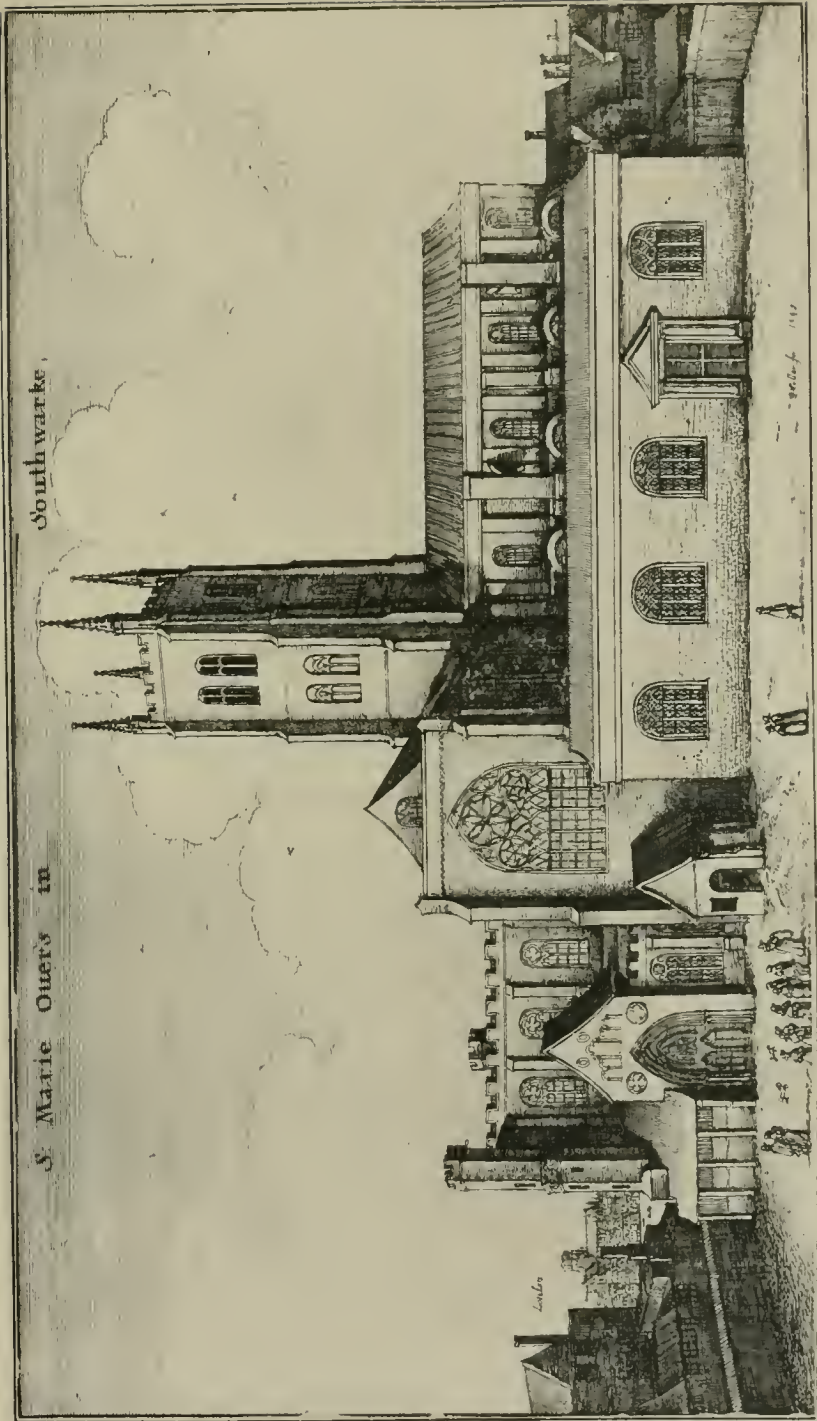
It is now called the new Chappell ; and indeed though very old, it now may be cal'd a new one because newly redeemed from such use and imployment as . . . may very well be branded with the stile of wretched, base and unworthy . . . by those that were then the Corporation . . . leased and let out, and the House of God made a Bake-house . . . the faire pillars were ordinary posts against which they piled billets and bavins . . . in this place they had their ovens ; in that their kneading troughs ; in another a hogs-trough.¹

It is difficult to follow the many changes in this church during the next two centuries. Such early views, prints, or drawings as exist shew much variation, *e.g.* Hollar depicted it in 1647 and 1661. Both shew the large window of the south transept with tracery of geometric design, but the drawing of 1647 shews three clerestory windows, round-headed, but having Gothic tracery. The 1661 drawing shews six windows, all pointed. Gwilt, who restored the Lady Chapel in 1833, has a drawing shewing the old church in 1834 with the nave in ruins without a roof. Several arches are shewn with triforium and clerestory.

Practically the whole of the church except the Lady Chapel is modern, the work having been well carried out in the style of the second church. However, some traces of the original Norman Church can be seen, as may also some small arches of its successor. A small side-chapel has been added, the gift of Harvard University.

The church was not far from Bankside, which in the latter

¹ 1633. Munday's *Continuation of Stow's Survey*, p. 885.



ON THE SOUTH SIDE AND IN THE OUTSKIRTS

half of the seventeenth century became famous for its play-houses and was the resort, and in some cases the place of residence, of many well-known playwrights and actors, and by a letter of Bishop Gardiner we may see that even as early as 1547 there were plays of some kind on the Bankside. Gardiner, who, it must be remembered, was bishop of the diocese, Winchester House being quite close to S. Mary's, wrote to Paget :

To-morrow the Parishioners of this parish and I have agreed to have a solemn dirge for our late Sovereign Lord and Master, in earnest as beseemeth us, and to-morrow certain players, my Lord of Oxford's, as they say, intend . . . to have a solemn playe, to try who shall have most resort, they in game or I in earnest.¹

Seven years later, Edward VI being dead, Gardiner, who had been imprisoned, was again at Winchester House, and we read :

They (*i.e.* Queen Mary and Philip) came from Richmonde by water to Southwarke. . . . The Kinge in one barge and she in another, and lande at Sainte Mary Overyes, at the Bushope of Winchester's place.²

The bells of the church had some reputation. Thos. Deloney writes (1598) :

Me thinks these instruments sound lik the ring of S. Mary Overies belles, but the base drowns all the rest.³

And Dekker about the same date has :

Hark, they jingle in my pocket like S. Mary Overy's bells.⁴

Camden records an epitaph on one Jarret, a grocer :

To Heaven he is gone, the way before,
Where of Grocers there is many more.⁵

¹ 1547. Rolls Series.

² *Chron. of Queen Mary* (1850), p. 58.

³ Deloney, *Thomas of Reading*, chap. xi.

⁴ *Shoemaker's Holiday*, III, i.

⁵ Camden's *Remains* (1870), p. 436.

LONDON CHURCHES BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

Apropos of this and many other epitaphs which often savour too much of panegyric and sycophancy, it may not be out of place to quote one in S. Botolph's, Aldersgate :

Praises on tombs are trifles vainly spent,
A Man's good name is his best monument.

The monuments from the old church have mostly been preserved and may be seen. Bishop Andrewes was buried there, also the dramatists John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, also Shakespeare's brother Edmund ; not least in fame John Gower the poet—the ancient Gower, as Shakespeare called him (*i.e.* if Shakespeare were the author of 'Pericles'). His tomb was in the north aisle of the old church, but is now in the south. The old-French inscription ends :

Pur ta pitié, Jesu, regarde,
E met cest alme en sauve garde.¹

Stow says of him :

John Gower was no knight, neither had he any garland of Iuie and Roses, but a Chaplet of four roses only.

In a MS. of Gower's 'Vox Clamantis,' preserved in the Cotton Library, there is a portrait of him shooting with bow and arrow, with the legend characteristic of the satirist :

Ad mundum mea jacula dumque sagitto.²

The church seems to have been known for its monuments, and the following, written near the end of the reign of Henry VIII, shews the growing dislike to images in churches at that period—a dislike which in the next century became fanatic

¹ See Macaulay's edition of Gower, I, iv.

² In Strutt's *Antiquities*.

ON THE SOUTH SIDE AND IN THE OUTSKIRTS

and led to the mutilation or destruction of much fine statuary and carved stonework :

It is euydent also that thei teach men to worship imagys, for euey Church is ful and specyally Saint Mary Ouery in Sothwarke, of gylded imagys.¹

A curious story in connection with this church is told by Nathaniel Crouch who wrote under the pseudonym of Richard Burton :

In the twentieth year of her reign (Q. Elizabeth's) a blazing star was seen with a long stream. About this time one Simon Pembroke of Southwark being supposed to be a conjuror, was ordered to appear in Saint Mary Overies Church, which he did and leaning against a Pew, the Proctor lifted up his head and found him dead . . . and being searched several devilish books of conjuration were found about him.²

When the church was part of the priory, there was a chapel dedicated to S. Mary Magdalen which was a parish church for a certain portion of the adjacent district. Another parish church formerly belonging to the priory was that of S. Margaret-on-the-Hill, situate in the borough of Southwark to the south of S. Mary's. When S. Mary Overie's became a parish church, it absorbed both the above parishes.

S. Mary
Magdalene,
South-
wark
S.
Margaret-
on-the-
Hill

The Church of S. Margaret was converted partly to a Court of Assize and partly into a prison known as ' The Compter.'³

In the borough of Southwark, a little to the south of S. Mary Overie's, stood the church of S. George the Martyr.

S. George,
South-
wark

Anthony à Wood notes in his Diary that on the death of Oliver Cromwell

his body was brought in the morning to S. George's Church in Southwark,

¹ c. 1541. Hen. Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderyck Mors*. E.E.T.S., p. 61.

² *Historical Remarques* (1681), p. 110.

³ Stow, *Survey* (1603), pp. 411, 413.

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at which place at 12 of the clock his friends and many of the clergy and gentry met and accompanied it thence to Somerset House.¹

William Lilly, the astrologer, in his *Life* writes that he was married here in 1627, and 'for two whole years we kept it secret.'

Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London 1539, was buried here. He was deprived of his bishopric by Henry VIII and imprisoned in the Marshalsea. He was restored to the See by Queen Mary, but again deposed by Queen Elizabeth, and died in prison in 1569, and was buried in the churchyard at midnight with other prisoners. The old church dated from the twelfth century, and formerly appertained to the priory of Bermondsey. It was replaced by a modern church.

S. Olave,
South-
wark

A church close to the river on the south side, not far from S. Mary Overies, but on the lower side of the bridge, is prominent in views. It was one of the many dedicated to S. Olave, and called S. Olave's, Tooley Street. The street, however, it was that was named from the church, and whose name got so curiously corrupted. The last letter of 'Saint' got attached to Olave, and out of 'Tolave' was evolved 'Tooley.' An old print shews a Gothic church with a tower much older than the church. This, however, has disappeared. Stow called it a 'faire and meetely large church.' It had three rows of pillars, thus dividing the church into four aisles. It is said to have been founded c. 1300. Archbishop Laud in his *Diary*, March 1639, records 'an extream Fire,' forty houses being burnt down.

The church as rebuilt still stands.

(ii)

S. Mary
Spital

Outside the Bishopsgate, near to what is still called Norton Folgate, was the priory or hospital of S. Mary, called S. Mary Spital. The present Spital Square marks the situation. The

¹ *Diary*, April 17, 1656.

ON THE SOUTH SIDE AND IN THE OUTSKIRTS

hospital was founded by Walter Brune in 1197 and received a charter from Edward I. The name is frequently mentioned in connexion with preaching, which continued long after the hospital and church had disappeared, as the Pulpit Cross which stood in the churchyard remained for many years.

Baker in his 'Chronicle' writes of sermons in the reign of Edward IV :

About this time also Richard Rawson, one of the Sheriffs of London, caused an house to be builded in the Churchyard of S. Mary's Hospitall without Bishopsgate where the Mayor and Aldermen used to sit and heare the sermon on Easter holy daies.¹

Stow writes of the Pulpit Cross :

A part of the large Church yeard pertaining to this Hospital . . . yet remaineth as of olde time with a Pulpit Crosse therein, somewhat like to that in Paul's Church yard. . . . The Maior with his brethren the Aldermen were accustomed to bee present in their Violets at Paule's on good Friday and in their Scarlets at the Spittle in the Holidayes, except Wednesday in violet.²

Ben Jonson has an allusion to this in 'Underwoods' :

The French hood and scarlet gown
The lady-mayoress passed in through the town
Unto the Spittle Sermon.

On the Sunday after Easter Day :

The Children of Christ's Hospitall came from thence through the City to the Sermon kept at S. Mary Spittle all clothed in plunket coats with red caps and the maiden children in the same livery with kerchiefes.³

The custom at Easter was for a Bishop to preach on the

¹ *Reign of Edward IV* (1643), p. 112.

² *Survey* (1603), pp. 168-169.

³ Stow, *Summarie of Chronicles* (1598), p. 269.

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Monday, a Dean on the Tuesday, and a Doctor of Divinity on the Wednesday.

During the Civil War the Cross was broken down, and after the Restoration the sermon was preached at S. Bride's and afterwards at Christ Church.

The following shews how Richard III used the pulpit to influence the people in his favour :

The Preachers in their severall places, the one at Paul's Crosse, the other at Saint Maryes Spittle, (were directed) to exhort the hearts of the people to refuse the last King's sonne (Edward the Fifth) and accept of the now Protector (Richard) to bee their King.¹

The house, No. 32 Spital Square, is said to occupy the site of the old Pulpit Cross. Near by Sir George Wheeler built a chapel which enjoyed considerable popularity, and was rebuilt in the eighteenth century. Wheeler Street is a reminiscence of the founder. The chapel in course of time was consecrated as S. Mary's Church, Spital Square, and has only recently been demolished.²

S.
Leonard,
Shore-
ditch

The original church of S. Leonard, Shoreditch, was founded not later than the thirteenth century, as there is on record the name of a vicar, Walter de Wittene, who was there before 1251.³ A view taken in 1694 shews the tower of the church, the two lower stories being of stone and apparently belonging to the old church ; the upper story and bell-tower of timber. The building appeared to be dilapidated.

Stow complains eloquently of the desecration of monuments in his time by a certain vicar :

for couetousnes of the brass which he conuerted into coyned siluer plucking up many plates fixed on the graves and left no memory of such

¹ 1636. J. Trussel, *Continuation of S. Daniel's Hist.*, p. 222.

² See a paper by W. H. Manchée in *Lond. and Middlx. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, Apr. 20, 1912.

³ Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*.

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as had been buried under them : a greate iniurie both to the living and the dead.¹

In the 'Visitation of London, 1633-34-35,'² the arms and pedigree of James Burbage of S. Leonard's, Shoreditch, are recited. He had two sons, Cuthbert and Richard. The last is described as 'Richard Burbage the famous Actor on the Stage.' This is a little surprising considering the violent antagonism displayed at the time to theatres and play actors. It was James Burbage, an actor, and one of the Earl of Leicester's players, who built the first play-house in London known as 'The Theatre.'

Within a short distance eastward of Aldgate is the Church of S. Mary Matfellow, more familiarly known as S. Mary's, White-chapel. The second name has always been a matter of conjecture, but it is on record that the parish was called *Villa beatæ Mariæ de Matfellow* in 21 Richard II, if not earlier.

Stow tells a legend of the time of Henry VI and offers a suggestion. It seems that a Frenchman murdered a 'devout widow' and fled with her jewels to Southwark, where he took sanctuary and claimed the customary privilege. When taken to Whitechapel by the constables the women of the parish

cast upon him so much filth and ordure of the streete that they slew him out of hand.

And so from this felon-deed came the added name 'Matfellow'—a solution of the difficulty which is hardly probable. Pennant says the name is from the Hebrew and signifies 'Mary lately delivered of her holy Child.'³

The foundation of the church could not have been later

¹ *Survey of London* (1603), p. 429.

² Vol. i. p. 121.

³ Mr. Kingsford in his edition of Stow has a note suggesting the usual custom of naming from a benefactor. He has discovered the name of a certain mercer called 'Knapweed' who died in 1341. The old French for the common flower called 'Knapweed' is 'Matrefillen' or 'Matfellow.'

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than the early fourteenth century, and was probably earlier. The church was originally a chapel-of-ease to Stepney. The first rector of whom mention is recorded was Richard de Campeden, who was in possession of the church before 1329. There is mention of the south aisle being rebuilt in 1591. There was an old custom which prevailed in this parish, and continued at all events to the reign of Henry VIII. It would seem that the parishioners were bound to go once a year in procession to S. Paul's Cathedral to make oblation; also to S. Peter's, Westminster (when it was a bishopric), but this was commuted by a payment of fifteen pence every year offered at the high altar at the feast of Pentecost as a recognition of the Mother Church.

In the time of Charles II the church was in such a ruinous condition that it was found necessary to rebuild the whole fabric saving the steeple. In the last century it was destroyed by fire and the present fine church erected.

**S. Dunstan,
Stepney**

As to Stepney (anciently Stebunhith), Stow writes of the parish church that when the priory of the Holy Trinity was suppressed, four of the greatest bells were sold to the parish of Stepney, the church being one of six which, judging from a traditional nursery rhyme, were famous for their bells.¹ There was a monument to Sir Henry Colet, Lord Mayor, who died in 1505. His better-known son John, Dean of S. Paul's, was vicar here in 1485 to 1505. After the Restoration the church was the scene of a remarkable funeral. In a tract of 1662 we read :

There was a numerous concourse (about 20,000) of sober, substantial people assembled to Christchurch to attend the corps (*i.e.* of Colonel Okey, one of the regicides who had been executed).

Colonel Okey was hanged and quartered, but by permission of the King his relatives were allowed to bury his body by the

¹ See Addenda, p. 290.

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side of his wife. He fought at Naseby, but at a later date opposed Cromwell.

As to the epitaph in the church to John Kite, Fuller writes in his 'Worthies':

His Epitaph neither good English, Latine, Spanish nor Greek, but a barbarous confusion. He was sent Embassador to Spain, made a Grecian titular Archbishop (receiving thence as much profit as men shear wool from hogs), and at last the real Bishop of Carlisle.¹

As a matter of fact Kite, who died in 1537, was really Archbishop of Armagh. He owed his preferment to Wolsey. He renounced the Pope's supremacy in 1534.²

(iii)

Recrossing London, on the outskirts to the north-west we find the little Church of S. Pancras situate not far from what is now King's Cross Station. The church, originally Norman, was rebuilt in the last century. It is but little known or visited, and one might almost use the words of John Norden, written in 1593:

S. Pancras
in the
Field

Pancras Church standeth all alone as utterly forsaken, old and wether-beaten . . . about this Church have bin manie buildings, now decayd, leaving poore Pancras without companie or comfort. Yet as desolate as it standeth is not forsaken of all—a Prebendary of Paul's accepted it in right of his office.³

The church was often alluded to (the name being corrupted to 'Pancridge'), and seemed to have a rather undesirable reputation. The parsons there were found to be 'convenient' in the way of weddings; probably not asking too many questions.

¹ Fuller, *Worthies* (1662), p. 205.

² See *Nat. Dict. of Biog.*

³ J. Norden, *Speculum Brit.* (1593), pt. i. p. 38.

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‘Thou Pancridge Parson,’¹ used as a term of reproach in one of Field’s plays, shews this, and Middleton has :

We were wedded by the hand of heaven
Ere this work began ;

to which the rejoinder is :

 at Pankridge,
I’ll lay my life on’t.²

In the next century duels were fought in the churchyard. So we may gather from Davenant’s play :

I told ’em of Pancras Church where their scholars
(When they have killed one another in duel)
Have a Church Yard to themselves for their death.³

The old ballad of Lord Lovell is about the same date as the play :

Lady Nancy was laid in St. Pancras Church,
Lord Lovel was laid in the choir,
And out of her bosom there grew a red rose,
And out of her lover’s a briar.

The church is mentioned in Ben Jonson’s ‘Tale of a Tub,’ also a certain parson known as ‘Sir Hugh,’ and sometimes as ‘Canon’ Hugh.

Take a good Angel for your guide,
said a bridegroom to Sir Hugh.

I smile to think,
said Sir Hugh, as he pocketed the coin,

I smile to think how like a lottery
These weddings are.⁴

¹ Field, *Woman a Weathercock* (1612), II, i.

² Middleton and Rowley, *Fair Quarrel* (1617), V, 1.

³ *a.* 1660. *Playhouse to Let* (1673), I, i. ⁴ 1603. *Tale of a Tub*, I, i.

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Ben Jonson used the name of the church in scorn in a satire on Inigo Jones, who had received much royal favour from James I and Charles. He calls him Pancridge Earl and Marquis of Tower Ditch.¹

Weever in his 'Ancient Funerall Monuments' mentions the monument in the church to the Grey family :

In this old weather-beaten church I find a wondrous ancient monument which by tradition was made to the memorie of the right honorable familie of the Greyes . . . whose Mansion house was in Port-Poole or Greyes-Inne-lane now an Inne of Court.²

In the Guildhall Library may be seen a water-colour drawing of the church said to be 'a facsimile of a drawing by the celebrated Lord Burleigh whose ancestor was buried in the chantry at the west end of the church.' The story requires authentic confirmation. The old church can be distinguished in the map of London of 1563 just beyond Battle Bridge. Neither Battle Bridge nor S. Pancras is mentioned by Stow, nor in later times by Pennant, though the latter reproduced the above-mentioned map.³ We add a brief note as to the church's early history. The patronage was with the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's. In 1183, Ralph de Diceto being then Dean, 'Fulcherius the Priest was made perpetual Vicar under the Annual Pension of 2s.' So Newcourt tells us, and he also gives a list of prebendaries, the latest of whom was William Sherlock, 1681.⁴ The dignified position of prebendary hardly accords with the indifferent reputation attributed to the vicars by Elizabethan writers.

¹ Ben Jonson to Inigo Marquis Would-be, c. 1630.

² 1631, p. 539.

³ A very eccentric account of this church was written by Robert Cabell Roffe, and privately printed in 1865.

⁴ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 195. In the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV, 1291 (1808, p. 19), the entry is *Prebenda Scti Pancratii*, 2.2.11.

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S. Mary-le-bourne

The parish known as Marylebone originated as the village of Tybourne, and the church was dedicated to S. John the Evangelist. But in the year 1400 this was pulled down and another built dedicated to S. Mary. The bourne flowed through the parish, and when the dedication was changed the locality was distinguished as S. Mary-le-Bourne, corrupted into Marylebone, and still further vulgarised into Marribon. The church, in early times a vicarage,¹ belonged to the priory of S. Laurence de Blakemore in Essex, but on the dissolution of the priory Edward VI made the church a rectory. In 1511 the income was stated to be only 13s. per annum.² In 1650 the impropriation was valued at £80 per annum, the minister being paid £15. The old church stood till 1740, when a modern building took its place.

(iv)

S. Mary, Lambeth

The Church of S. Mary, Lambeth, stands by the river adjoining the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The ancient church to which the following allusions relate was the one rebuilt about 1375. The modern church which replaced it in 1851 (the ancient tower, however, remaining), followed the lines of the old so far as was possible, and many of the monuments have been preserved.

Some of the later Primates, including Archbishops Bancroft and Tenison, are buried here, as is also Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, who was deprived by Edward VI, restored by Mary, and again deprived by Elizabeth. Thomas Thirleby, Bishop of Ely and Norwich and (for a short time) of West-

¹ At all events thirteenth century, for Hennessy mentions Will. de Canterbury as serving the church in 1242.

² Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*. There seems some discrepancy here. Possibly this was the stipend of the curate in charge.

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minster, who was joined with Bonner in the proceedings against Cranmer, is also buried here. In the churchyard the Tradescant monument is noticeable for curious designs, drawings of which are in the Pepysian Library, and have been reproduced in the 'Bibliotheca Topographica,' vol. ii. Probably they were meant to be typical of Mr. Tradescant's famous collection now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The Earl of Surrey's epitaph on his 'faithful friend and follower' should not be forgotten :

Norfolk sprung thee, Lambeth holds thee dead :
Clere of the Count of Cleremont.

Ah ! Clere ! if love had booted care or cost,
Heaven had not won, nor earth so timely lost.¹

The small painting on glass in the south-east window of the church of a pedlar with his dog points to the idle tradition that he gave to the parish the ground called Pedlar's Acre, for permission to bury his dog in the churchyard. The story is no doubt a fiction, but the possession is a fact, as in the churchwardens' accounts it is called Church Hope or Hoopys, and afterwards Church Oziers (being in the Marsh), and in 1505 produced a rent of 2s. 8d. per annum, which in 1651 had only increased to £4. In 1690 it was termed 'Pedlar's Acre' in a lease. There has been recent litigation with regard to the title, and the London County Council are now in possession and are building their new habitation on the site.²

An incident is related of Mary of Modena, the unfortunate Queen of James II, that, when hurriedly fleeing from Whitehall

¹ Thomas Clere was buried in the Howard Chapel. The family came from Cleremont in Normandy, but Sir Robert Clere, the father of Thomas, lived at Ormesby in Norfolk. The fact that Thomas was page to Surrey is pointed to in the line 'Surrey for Lord thou chase' (didst choose).

² See Dr. Ducarel, *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth* (1786), p. 30, and Edw. Hatton, *New View of London* (1708), ii. 381.

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with her infant child, she was compelled to find shelter from the storm at this church until assistance and a carriage could be obtained.

The church account books mention pews and the payment of pew rent applied to church repairs. In Queen Mary's reign :

Paid for a skin of parchment to wryte mens names upon the pewes 0.0.4.

And in 1564, at a vestry a quarterly payment for their wives was fixed of xii^d to go to reparation of the church.¹

S. Mary
Abbot,
Kensing-
ton

The old parish church of S. Mary, Kensington (written Chenesiton in Domesday and having many subsequent variations of spelling), stood to the north of the present church, and was founded not later than the thirteenth century. The earliest vicar recorded is Roger de Besthorpe or Westhorpe. The patronage was originally with the monastery of Abingdon, but has been with the Bishop of London from 1322, although it would seem that Queen Victoria presented the two last vicars. John Parsons or Pateson was vicar from 1519 to 1556, of whom it is recorded :

His Vicarage is worth by yere £18 6s. 8d. and sarveit the cure hymselfe.²

The amount appears small, even for a vicarage, but probably the sum given was net after deduction of the burdens or outgoings (*onera*). These amounted to about £20.³

Thomas Hodge, who was collated to the vicarage by Bishop Juxon in 1641, kept his preferment during the Civil War by attaching himself to the Parliamentary Party, and he is heard of as preaching before the Long Parliament. Yet after the Restoration he received advancement, being collated to the rectory

¹ See Allen's *History of Lambeth*.

² See Hennessy's *Novum Repertorium*.

³ So given by Newcourt.

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of S. Peter, Cornhill, and made Dean of Hereford. He retained the living of Kensington till his death and was buried in the church.

The church was rebuilt in 1694 (the old tower, however, being left), and was in the style that prevailed in the reign of William III. The spirit of the thirteenth century was revived in the present church built by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1869.

Riverside churches on the Surrey side, notably that of S. Mary Overie, have already been dealt with. Two other churches standing by the riverside on the north bank cannot be omitted.

Fulham has been connected with London from the time of the Conquest, the Bishops of London having been Lords of the Manor probably before that period, for it is said to have been given to Erkenweld, who was consecrated to the See in the year 675. The name Fulham signified, so it is said, the Home of Birds—according to Camden, ‘*Volucrum Domus*, the habitacle of birds.’ The church was dedicated to ‘All Saints,’ and the earliest record of any rector or ecclesiastic of any rank was John Sylvester in 1242, Henry III being then patron. But from 1336 the Bishop of London, whose palace is close to the church, has had the patronage of the rectory *sine cure*, the rectors presenting to the vicarage, but of late years the rectory has been abolished, and the Bishop of London now presents to the vicarage.¹

All Saints,
Fulham

The tower of the old fourteenth-century church still stands, and is specially conspicuous from the south side of the river. It is stone-built, of four stories, with a corner turret, the upper story having specially fine windows. The church was rebuilt in the Gothic style in 1889. Facing it on the opposite bank of the river stands the old stone tower of Putney parish church, the building of the church itself being modern.

Putney
Church

¹ But in *Novum Repertorium* (the Rev. G. Hennessy, p. 160), Henry Martin is styled ‘Vicar’ in 1333.

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In the church and churchyard are buried several Bishops of London, including Henry Compton, who quarrelled with James II and was suspended from episcopal functions, and afterwards supported William of Orange, and signed the invitation to him to come to England. There is also a monument to Sir William Butts, physician to Henry VIII.

S. Luke,
Chelsea

The old parish church of Chelsea stood, and, though much altered and restored and no longer the 'Parish Church,' still stands close to the river on the north side. The early history of the church goes back to the thirteenth century, when in 1289-90 Reginald de S. Albans was presented to the rectory by Pope Nicholas IV. Afterwards the patronage was with the Prior and Convent of Westminster. Sir Thomas More, the most notable parishioner, presented John Larke in 1530. He was attainted in 1553-54. Henry VIII, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth in succession were patrons, and at a later period the patronage fell to the Cadogan family, and proved in after times a source of wealth, as in 1566 the then rector granted the parsonage house and some eighteen acres of land to them.

The church has a special interest in connection with Sir Thomas More, who lived close by in what is now Beaufort Street. William Roper, in his biography of his wife's father, has :

This good Duke of Norfolk comming on a tyme to Chelsey to dyne with Syr Thomas More, found him in the Church singing in the Quier with a Surplisse on his backe : . . . the Duke said : ' God's body, my Lord Chancellour, what turned Parish Clarke. You dishonour the King and his office very much.' ¹

Only a small portion of the ancient church dating from about the fourteenth century is left, viz. two or three Gothic arches in the choir, interesting as a reminiscence of the above incident, and a small portion of the north aisle. There is an epitaph on

¹ a. 1578. W. Roper, *Life of More* (1626), p. 83.

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Sir Thomas More in Latin (his own composition). He had a vault in the church, erected by himself after his resignation of the Chancellorship, and he there buried his first wife. There is a tradition that his body was removed there from the tower, but it is more probable that the burial was at S. Peters-in-the-Tower. His head is said to be preserved at S. Dunstan's Church, Canterbury. More's chapel was in his time his own freehold and not under the control of the bishop. The chapel, together with Sir Thomas More's house, became the property of Sir Arthur Gorges, poet and translator, and who commanded Sir Walter Raleigh's flagship. He died in 1625, and there is a brass in the church to his memory. In the More Chapel there is a monument to the widow of the Duke of Northumberland, who was executed for treason in Queen Mary's reign. George Herbert's mother was buried here. Izaak Walton writes in his 'Life of Herbert' that he 'saw and heard' Dr. Donne 'weep and preach her Funeral Sermon.'

Here, with reverent memories of Sir Thomas More and pleasant thoughts of such worshipful men, or, to copy Fuller, such worthies as George Herbert, Izaak Walton, and Dr. Donne, it seems fitting to bring to a close allusions and *memorabilia* which but for the limitations of space might be largely extended.

ADDENDA

ADDENDA

TRACES of Norman or Saxon work still remain in the Abbey or precincts, such as were discovered under the sanctuary and remain *in situ* though covered in. The most perfect specimen of the Abbey of Edward the Confessor is, however, to be seen in the Chapel of the Pyx and the adjoining crypt or under-croft, originally one building, but now distinct by the filling up of the space between the arches. Westminster Abbey (p. 43).

The under-croft is the larger, and we find massive round pillars and arches supporting a stone groined roof. The capitals of the pillars are for the most part plain, of the early type, but in one or two cases there can be traced the boldly designed carving characteristic of the Saxon period. This crypt formed part of the monastic buildings before the Dissolution, and in Queen Elizabeth's time was used in connection with the college or school. Here are preserved a number of the effigies of royal persons used at their funerals, the earliest being that of Edward III. They are life-sized figures of carved wood, and are clothed in the deceased's own apparel. Under-croft.

The Chapel of the Pyx has a stone altar still remaining showing the religious use before the Reformation, the Pyx being the vessel containing the consecrated Host. But the word had a secular use derived from its primary signification (from the Greek *auxis*), a vessel made of box-wood—in the vulgar tongue a box, which might be magnified into a casket or coffer, used to keep in safety anything of value. Here were kept what were called coins of assay or specimens of every coin of the realm minted, which were officially tested from time to time by a jury of freemen of the Goldsmiths' Company summoned by the Lord Chancellor, the chapel not being under the control of the Dean and Chapter. At one time the old tallies of the Court of Exchequer were deposited here. Chapel of the Pyx.

The Chapels of the Inns of Court, though primarily for the use of students, were open to the public, subject to regulations, and many eminent theologians of the day preached there. The Temple Church was the property jointly of the two Inns of Court known as the Inner Inns of Court Chapels.

ADDENDA

and Middle Temples. The other two Inns of Court¹ were Gray's Inn and Lincoln's Inn, and in both cases the ancient chapels have long since disappeared.

Gray's Inn Chapel.

In the old Chapel of Gray's Inn, anciently known as Portpoole,¹ a chantry was founded in the eighth year of Edward II in memory of John, son of Reginald de Gray, for which certain lands were granted to the Prior and Convent of S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and services were kept up at their expense, the salary of the chaplain being £7, 13s. 4d. In the reign of Edward VI there was a sale of certain articles, including vestments and the holy-water stock, all of which were replaced in the first year of Queen Mary and a new altar was provided. In the twenty-first year of James I all women were barred from the chapel at sermon time.² The present chapel dates from the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Lincoln's Inn Chapel

Lincoln's Inn, which in the thirteenth century was in the possession of the Bishop of Chichester, and afterwards of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, became the home of the lawyers at a later date. The old chapel which stood near the Tudor Gateway in Chancery Lane, became ruinous and was pulled down in 1611. The following is an extract from the records known as 'The Black Book of Lincoln's Inn,' showing the functions of the chaplain in the reign of Henry VIII :

Ytt is agreyd that when Syr Wyllyam Drury do admytt and nominate a Chapelyn to synge in Lyncolyn's Inne for the sowle of Sir Robert Drury hys father, he shall be presentyd to the Awncyentes of the Benche for the acceptacion of hys habylyte.³

There is another extract as to the chaplain in the reign of Queen Elizabeth :

Payment 1591 £6 to William Davies the Chaplain for $\frac{3}{4}$ year's wages.

The chapel was rebuilt by Inigo Jones in the style of the Tudor period ; but, to quote Pennant's very apt remark, ' he never was designed for a Gothic architect.'

The crypt below the chapel is entirely above ground, and its massive pillars support the superstructure. The groined roof is decorated

¹ *Portpool* was a Prebend of S. Paul's, and is mentioned in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291.

² Sir W. Herbert, *Inns of Court*, 1800.

- 1538, i. 251.

ADDENDA

with fan-tracery in the manner of the fifteenth century. It was used for interments, as the inscribed pavement still shews, but was apparently open to the public as a place of common resort or shelter, and, judging from a couplet in Butler's 'Hudibras,' was the haunt of the needy class of lawyer, as was Paul's Walk in the Cathedral :

Or wait for customers between
The pillar rows in Lincoln's Inn.¹

Clarendon, in his 'History of the Rebellion,' tells us that the House of Commons once met in this chapel, and he gives the reason :

The House of Commons celebrated that day (i.e. the Day of Thanksgiving for the Peace between England and Scotland) in the Chappel of Lincoln's Inn ; because the Bishop of London . . . had formed a Prayer to be read on that day, which they liked not.²

The Church or Chapel of S. Mary Bethlem was attached to the hospital of that name without Bishop's Gate, founded in 1247 by Simon Fitzmarie. Bethlem Cross was near by. 'Stow relates that the Company of Skinners incorporated in the reign of Edward III

S. Mary
Bethlem

had two brotherhoods of *Corpus Christi*, one at S. Mary Spittle, the other at S. Mary Bethlem. At the dissolution Henry VIII gave the Hospitall to the Cittie, but the Church was not taken down until the reign of Queen Elizabeth.³

An extract from the State Papers touching on preaching in this church, is of interest. Amongst the

artickells ayenst Sir Thomas Corthop Curate of Harwich 1535,

it was alleged

that in a sermon preached at Bethelam without Bisshoppegate he had said that these new preachers now-a-days that doth preach their iij sermons in a day have made and brought in such divisions and seditions among us as never was seen in this realm, for the devil reigneth over us now.⁴

The Church of the White Friars or Carmelites, *S. Mary de Monte Carmeli*, was founded by Sir Richard Gray in 1241 and rebuilt by Courtney, Earl of Devon, in 1350. The Priory to which it was attached surrendered

Church of
the White
Friars

¹ *Op. cit.*, 1678, Pt. III. c. iii.

² *Op. cit.*, 1647, Book IV.

³ *Survey*, 1603, pp. 32, 166, 232.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers*, 27 Henry VIII.

ADDENDA

in the thirtieth year of Henry VIII.¹ John Paston alluded to the church in 1479 in a letter to Margaret Paston on the death of Sir John Paston :

The mor pite is, if yt pleasyd God, that my brodyr is beryed in the Whyghte Fryers at London ; whych I thought wold not have ben.²

The White Friars were located near the river, between the Temple and Bridewell. In later days the district was called ' Alsatia.'

Austin
Friars (p.
131)

Although the church of Austin Friars was granted to the Dutch as a Protestant body, it would appear that in the reign of Queen Mary the Italians had the use of it ; for in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, Count de Feria wrote to the King of Spain (December 29, 1558) :

Some of the heretics from Germany have come hither and in the first day of Christmas they began to preach in a Church of S. Augustine (close to the Treasurer's house) which had been given to the Italians here. They broke the door in and preached four sermons. Nicholas Throgmorton, a knave . . . was present at the business.³

The above quotation shows that the incident related on p. 230 in connection with the Church of S. Augustine-by-Paul's, really applied to the above church.

Referring to the spire, which was probably unique, Newcourt says :

A most fine spired steeple, small, high and streight which was overthrown by a tempest of wind in 1362.

But, he adds, it was ' raised of new,' and might have stood till his day ' had not ' (and here he follows Stow) ' private benefit, the only devourer of antiquity, pull'd it down.'⁴

The following reference is taken from the Autobiography of Edmund Bohun, March 27, 1687 :

S. Botolph
Aldersgate
(p. 100)

On Easter Sunday I received the sacrement in the Parish Church of S. Botolph Aldersgate where I had lived till just upon our lady of this year when I was forced to remove unto Charter-house yard.

Charterhouse Yard, according to Sir J. Bramston, was the border between London and Middlesex. By living there a man might contrive to evade payment of ship-money and other taxes in both parishes.

¹ See Stow's *Survey*, 1603, p. 399.

³ *Calendar of Spanish Papers*, i. 16.

² *Paston Letters*, No. 846.

⁴ *Repertorium*, i. 288.

ADDENDA

The following refers to the destruction of the Priory Church of S. John by the rebels in the reign of Richard II :

This yere (1381) was the rysyng of the co'es of Essex and Kent for a talaye ordeyned that every man and woman between the age of lx and xvj yere schulde paye to the Kyng xijd.; the which Comones brenden the Chirche and the houses of Seynt Jones at Clerkenwelle.¹

S. John of Jerusalem
(p. 214)

Sir William Dugdale calls this S. Mary Aldermchurch, and mentions it as being with others ' of the ancient Patronage of the Prior and Convent of Christ-church, Canterbury.' ²

S. Mary Alderman-bury
(p. 172)

One of the murderers of the young Princes in the Tower is said to have died here, having presumably taken sanctuary :

S. Martin-le-grand (p. 197)

Miles Forest at S. Martines-le-grand by peace meale miserably rotted away.³

Sir Dudley Carlton, writing to Sir Ralph Winwood, April 7, 1609, says :

S. Bartholomew the Less (p. 222)

I have shaken hands with the Country and am here a settled Burgess of Little Saint Bartholomew. . . . I have here in my poor habitation a special benefit of near neighbourhood to Sir Thomas Bodley.⁴

The dates assigned to the early church are very conflicting. A much later date is given in the ' Chronicle of London ' (Sir S. H. Nicolas, p. 5) :

S. Mary Overie
(p. 263)

Seynt Marie Overeye was that yere (10 King John) begonne.

According to Dugdale, the church was burnt down in 1213, and rebuilt by Peter de Rupibus,⁵ Bishop of Winchester. Again rebuilt in the time of Richard II. Dugdale gives a plate showing the nave of the thirteenth-century church.⁶

It would appear from a passage in Sir Edward Coke's ' Institutes,' that the right of parishioners to a seat or pew carried with it the responsibility for its maintenance in repair.

Pews (p. 78)

If any man hath a house in a town or Parish and that he and those whose estate he hath in the house hath had out of mind a certain pew or seat in the

¹ *A Chronicle of London*, fifteenth cent., Harleian MS. (1827, Nicolas, p. 73).

² See *Monasticon*, edit. 1846, i. 88.

³ 1543, Grafton's *Chronicle*, fol. lxxxij.

⁴ *Winwood's Collection*, iii. 6.

⁵ *Or des Roches*.

⁶ *Monasticon*, vi. 169.

ADDENDA

Church maintained by him and them, the ordinary cannot remove him (for prescription maketh certainty the mother of quietness).¹

S. Nicholas
(p. 137) Referring to the ceremony of the boy bishop on S. Nicholas' Day. There was formerly a sculpture in the Temple Church, about three feet in length, supposed to represent this boy bishop, in episcopal dress, with mitre and pastoral staff. It is figured in Stothard's 'Monumental Effigies,' 1832. Most of the monuments in the Temple, except that of John Selden, have been removed, and some of them are in the triforium of the Round Church.

S. Giles-in-the-Fields
(p. 251) In 1641 the parishioners petitioned against Dr. Haywood, who they said, preached 'most damnable and erroneous doctrines,' and 'whose practise in Church discipline is superstitious and idolatrous'; who, moreover; used 'strange antick jestures of cringing and bowing, and who set up crucifixes and diverse images of saints and likewise organs with other confused musicke.'²

S. Katherine by the Tower (p. 91) The following gives a picture of S. Katherine's in the reign of James I. Sir George Buck, writing in 1615, says :

There be yet a maister and certaine learned Clarkes maintained and also prouision for the reliefe of certaine poore men and women.

The author adds :

There is good musicke in the Quyer and, moreover, it never had a more grave nor more honorable maister or President than now it hath, to wit, Syr Julius Cæsar, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer.³

S. Dunstan (Stepney) The fine old church is in a good state of preservation and well maintained. It was restored at the beginning of the last century, and differs somewhat from the church as shown in an eighteenth-century drawing, in which the tower has two stories and is surmounted by a bell-turret. The north side of the nave and choir is shown with windows of the *Perpendicular* period, the clerestory windows being small and flat-headed. The nave of the old church, as we may see to-day, has seven bays, the two at the east having more obtuse arches and being of a later period. There are the remains of a stone staircase leading to the rood-screen. The

¹ *Institutes of the Law of England*, pt. iii. c. 97, 1644 (1680, p. 202).

² The petition is printed. A copy is at the British Museum.

³ 1615. *The Third Uniuersitie*, chap. xxxiii.

ADDENDA

font, apparently Norman, belonged to the earlier church; and, indeed, there are traditions of a pre-Norman church. In the tablet in the church recording the names of rectors and vicars, the first place is given to 'William,' c. 1089,¹ but Mr. Hennessy in his 'Novum Repertorium' gives William de Berkhamsted, 1233. According to Weever, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scots, was buried in the church.

Referring again to the bells, it is on record that the tenor bell was renewed in 1386, recast in 1602, and again in 1764. The other five churches immortalised in the nursery jingle are S. Clement Danes, S. Martin-in-the-Fields, Old Bailey (i.e. S. Sepulchre), S. Leonard, Shore-ditch, S. Mary-le-Bow. Of the latter it has been said the 'great bell of Bow' was the first Agnostic—"I do not know," said the great bell of Bow.'

In the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas IV, 1291, the rectory is valued at 60 marks, the vicarage at 12 marks.

The church is known as 'the Sailors' Church,' and sailors claim that it is their parish church, and that they have the rights of parishioners.

¹ A MS. note in the British Museum copy of Newcourt's *Repertorium* states that *W. de Lond. persona de Stebüh*, occurs as witness to a charter apparently of the time of Henry II.

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S. Alban de Wodestret	S. Gregorii
S. Alphage	S. Jacobus de Garlekheth (Garelekhull)
S. Althamarichirche (Elderemarie- cherche)	S. Johannes de Walebrok
S. Andr' Baynard ²	„ Zachery
„ de Cornhull ³	S. Laurentius Candelwikstrat ¹⁰
„ Holborn	„ in Judaismo
„ Hubard	S. Leonardus Est Chep
S. Antoninus	„ juxta S. Martinum ¹¹
S. Augustinus Pappay	„ de Schoredich
„ ad Portam	S. Magnus ad Pontem
S. Barth. Parva	S. Margareta de Lotheber'
„ de Smethefeld ⁴	„ Moysis
S. Benedictus Fink	„ Patins
„ de Grescherche	„ ad Pontem
„ Shorhog	S. Marie de Abbechurch
„ de Wodefarnce or Wode- warf ⁵	„ de Althemanebir
S. Botulph extra Aldresgat (Altharis- gat)	„ de Arcubus
„ ext' Alegat	„ del Ax
„ de Billinges'	„ de Bothaw
„ de Bishopisgat	„ de Colcherche (Cholcherch)
S. Brigida ⁶	„ a le Hull
S. Christophus	„ de Monte Alta ¹²
S. Clemens, in Candelwikstret ⁷	„ ultra Pontem ¹³
„ Dacorum ⁸	„ de Somersete
S. Dionisius	„ de Staningelane
S. Dunstanus, East	„ de la Stronde
„ West	„ de Wolcherchawe
S. Edmundus de Grescherch	„ de Wlnoth
S. Egidius extra Crepulgate ⁹	S. Mary Magdalene in Milk Street
S. Ethelburge	„ „ in Piscaria
S. Fidis Virginis	S. Martinus in Campis
¹ SS. Anne and Agnes, Aldersgate Street.	„ de Candelwikstret ¹⁴
² S. Andrew-in-the-Wardrobe.	„ de Ludgate (Lutgate)
³ S. Andrew-under-Shaft.	„ Magnus
⁴ S. Bartholomew-the-Great.	„ de Otteswick
⁵ S. Benet Hythe or Paul's Wharf.	„ Pomarii
⁶ S. Bride.	
⁷ S. Clement, Eastcheap.	¹⁰ S. Laurence Pountney.
⁸ S. Clement Danes	¹¹ S. Leonard, Foster Lane.
⁹ S. Giles, Cripplegate.	¹² S. Mary Mounthaunt.
	¹³ S. Mary Overie.
	¹⁴ S. Martin Orgar.

* The names of the Churches are copied *verbatim et literatim* from the edition first printed in 1802. The spelling is a curious mixture of Latin, French, and English.

LIST OF CHURCHES

S. Martinus in Vinetria	S. Petrus de Tamestr'
S. Mattheus de Fridaystret	" de Wodestrat'
S. Michalis de Basingshawe	Omn' Sčor' de Berkyng ⁸
" ad Blada	" " in Bradst' ⁹
" de Candelwik ¹	" " super Celar' ⁹
" de Cornhull	" " Colmanchirch
" de Hoygenelan	" " Colmaneth
" de Pater Noster Church	" " de Fanch' ¹⁰
" ad Ripam ²	" " ad Fenum ¹¹
" and Katerina infra Alegate	" " de Greschirch
S. Mildreda in Bredstret	" " de Honilane
" in Poletria ³	" " ad Muros
" super Walbroc'	" " de Staingech'
S. Nicholaus de Cold Abbey	S. Sepulchrum
" Hakun	S. Stephanus de Colemanestret
" ad Mascel'	" " in Judaismo
" Olaf	" " Walebrok
S. Olavus de Mokewell	" " and Olavus
" ad, juxta, versus Turrim ⁴	S. Swithuni
S. Pancratius ⁵	S. B. Thom. Acon
S. Paulus	" " Apost.
Prebenda de S. Pancratij ⁶	S. Trin.
Prebenda de Purtepol ⁷	" " Parva
S. Petrus de Bradstrat	S. Vedasti
" de Cornhull	S. Werberg

¹ S. Michael, Crooked Lane.

² S. Michael, Queenhithe.

³ S. Mildred Poultry. The next line appears to refer to the same church. The brook was under the church, according to Stow.

⁴ S. Olave, Hart Street.

⁵ S. Pancras, Soper Lane.

⁶ S. Pancras-in-the-field.

⁷ Gray's Inn.

⁸ Allhallows, Barking.

⁹ Allhallows-the-Less.

¹⁰ S. Gabriel, Fenchurch Street.

¹¹ Allhallows-the-Great.

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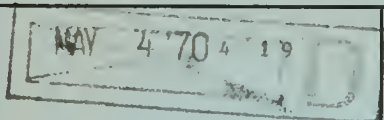
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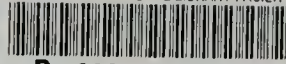
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